This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

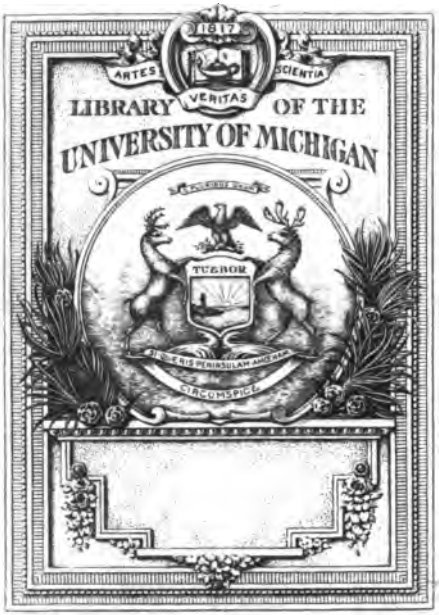
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

4

18


1817
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TUEBOR
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

A 512688

828
H173
1717

MISCELLANIES

By the most Noble

GEORGE Lord *Saville*,

Late Marquis and Earl

OF

HALIFAX.

VIZ.

I. ADVICE *to a* DAUGHTER.

II. *The Character of a* TRIMMER.

III. *The Anatomy of an* EQUIVALENT.

IV. *A Letter to a* DISSENTER.

V. *Cautions for Choice of* PARLIAMENT-MEN.

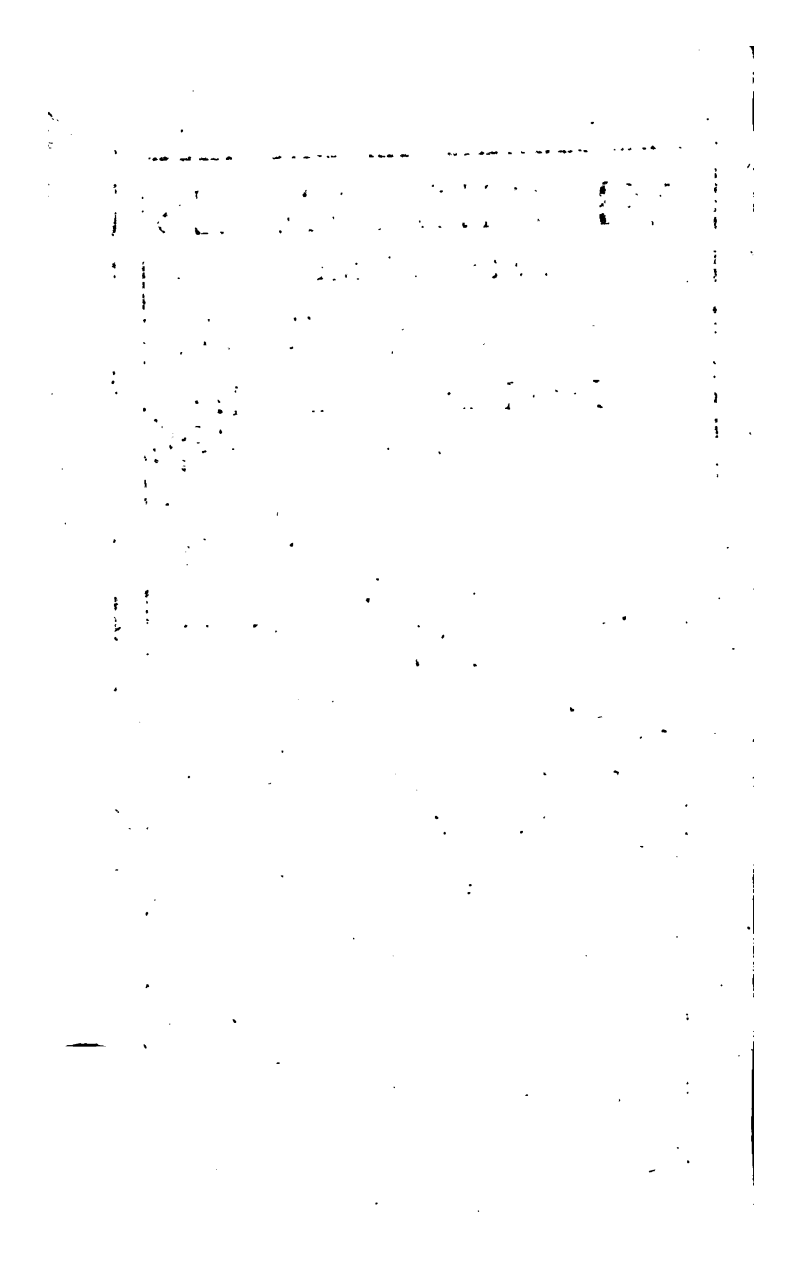
VI. *A Rough Draught of a* NEW MODEL *at* SEA.

VII. *Maxims of* STATE.

The THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for B. TOOKE, at the *Middle Temple-Gate*; D. MIDWINTER, at the *Three Crowns* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; and J. HOOKE, at the *Flower-de-Luce* in *Fleetstreet*. MDCCXVII.



John Blacker
12-9-29
20661
2-22-35 a.E.J.

THE
Lady's New-Year's-Gift:
OR,
Advice to a Daughter.

Dear DAUGHTER,

I Find, that even our moſt pleaſing Thoughts *will* be unquiet; they *will* be in Motion; and the *Mind* can have no Reſt whilſt it is poſſeſs'd by a daring Paſſion. *You* are at preſent the chief Object of my *Care*, as well as of my *Kindneſs*; which ſometimes throweth me into *Viſions* of your being happy in the World, that are better ſuited to my partial *Wiſhes*, than to my reaſonable *Hopes* for you. At other

times, when my *Fears* prevail, I ſhrink as if I was ſtruck at the Proſpect of *Danger* to which a young Woman muſt be expos'd. By how much the more *Lively*, ſo much the more *liable* you are to be hurt; as the fineſt Plants are the ſooneſt nipped by the *Froſt*. Whilſt you are playing full of Innocence, the ſpiteful World will bite, except you are guarded by your *Caution*. Want of *Care* therefore, my dear Child, is never to be excus'd; ſince, as to *this* World, it hath the ſame Effect as want of *Virtue*. Such an early ſprouting Wit, requireth ſo much the more to be ſheltred by ſome *Rules*, like ſomething ſtrew'd on tender Flowers, to preſerve them from being blaſted. You muſt take it well to be prun'd by ſo kind a Hand as that of a *Father*. There may be ſome Bitterneſs in meer Obedience: The natural Love of *Liberty* may help to make the Commands of a Parent harder to go down: Some inward Reſiſtance there will be, where *Power* and not *Choice* maketh us move. But when a *Father* layeth aſide his Authority, and perſuadeth only by his Kindneſs, you will never anſwer it to Good Nature, if it hath not Weight with you.

A great part of what is ſaid in the following *Diſcourſe* may be above the preſent growth of your Underſtanding; but that becoming every Day taller, will in a little time reach up to it, ſo as to make it eaſy to you. I am willing to begin with you before your *Mind* is quite

quite form'd, that being the Time in which it is moſt capable of receiving a *Colour* that will laſt when it is mix'd with it. Few Things are well learnt, but by early *Precepts:* Thoſe well infus'd, make them *Natural*; and we are never ſure of retaining what is valuable, till by a continued *Habit* we have made it a Piece of us.

Whether my Skill can draw the Picture of a fine Woman, may be a Queſtion: But it can be none, That I have drawn that of a kind *Father:* If you will take an exact Copy, I will ſo far preſume upon my Workmanſhip, as to undertake you ſhall not make an ill *Figure.* Give me ſo much Credit as to try, and I am ſure that neither your Wiſhes nor mine ſhall be diſappointed by it.

RELIGION.

THE firſt Thing to be conſidered, is *Religion.* It muſt be the chief Object of your Thoughts, ſince it would be a vain Thing to direct your *Behaviour* in the World, and forget that which you are to have towards Him who made it.

In a ſtrict Senſe, it is the only Thing neceſſary: You muſt take it into your *Mind*, and from thence throw it into your *Heart*, where you are to embrace it ſo cloſe, as never to loſe the *Poſſeſſion* of it. But then it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between the *Reality* and the *Pretence*.

Religion doth not conſiſt in believing the Legend of the *Nurſery*, where Children with their *Milk* are fed with the Tales of Witches, Hobgoblins, Prophecies, Miracles. We ſuck in ſo greedily theſe early *Miſtakes*, that our riper *Underſtanding* hath much ado to cleanſe our *Minds* from this kind of *Traſh*: The Stories are ſo entertaining, that we do not only believe them, but relate them: Which makes the Diſcovery of the *Truth* ſomewhat grievous, when it makes us loſe ſuch a Field of Impertinence, where we might have diverted our ſelves, beſides the throwing ſome Shame upon us for having ever received them. This is making the *World* a *Jeſt*, and imputing to God Almighty, That the Province he aſſigneth to the Devil, is to play at Blind-Man's-Buff, and ſhew Tricks with Mankind; and is ſo far from being *Religion*, that it is not *Senſe*; and hath Right only to be call'd that kind of Devotion, of which *Ignorance* is the undoubted *Mother*, without Competition or Diſpute. Theſe Miſtakes are therefore to be left off with your Hanging-Sleeves; and you ought to be as much out of Countenance to be found with them about you, as to be ſeen playing with Babies

Babies at an *Age* when other Things are expected from you.

The next Thing to be obſerv'd to you, is, That *Religion* doth as little conſiſt in loud Anſwers and devout Convulſions at Church, or Praying in an extraordinary Manner. Some Ladies are ſo extreme ſtirring at *Church*, that one would ſwear the *Worm* in their *Conſcience* made them ſo unquiet. Others will have ſuch a divided Face between a *Devout Goggle* and an *Inviting Glance*, that the unnatural Mixture maketh even the *beſt Looks* to be at that time *ridiculous*. Theſe affected *Appearances* are ever ſuſpected, like very ſtrong Perfumes, which are generally thought no very good Symptoms in thoſe that make Uſe of them. Let your Earneſtneſs therefore be reſerv'd for your *Cloſet*, where you may have God Almighty to your ſelf; In *Publick* be ſtill and calm, neither undecently *Careleſs*, nor *Affected* in the other Extreme.

It is not true Devotion, to put on an angry *Zeal* againſt thoſe who may be of a differing Perſuaſion. *Partiality* to our ſelves makes us often miſtake it for a *Duty*, to fall hard upon others in that Caſe; and being puſh'd on by *Self-conceit*, we ſtrike without Mercy, believing that the *Wounds* we give are *Meritorious*, and that we are fighting God Almighty's Quarrel; when the Truth is, we are only ſetting out our ſelves. Our *Devotion* too often breaketh out into that *Shape*, which moſt agreeth with our particular *Temper*. The

Cholerick grow into a hardned Severity againſt all who diſſent from them; ſnarch at all the Texts of Scripture that ſuit with their *Complexion*; and becauſe God's Wrath was ſometimes kindled, they conclude, That *Anger* is a Divine Virtue; and are ſo far from imagining their ill-natur'd *Zeal* requireth an *Apology*, that they value themſelves upon it, and triumph in it. *Others*, whoſe Nature is more Credulous than ordinary, admit no Bounds or Meaſure to it; they grow as proud of extending their *Faith*, as Princes are of enlarging their *Dominions*; not conſidering that our *Faith*, like our Stomach, is capable of being over-charg'd; and that as the laſt is deſtroy'd by taking in more than it can digeſt, ſo our *Reaſon* may be extinguiſh'd by oppreſſing it with the Weight of too many ſtrange Things; eſpecially if we are forbidden to chew what we are commanded to ſwallow. The *Melancholy* and the *Sullen* are apt to place a great Part of their *Religion* in dejected or ill-humour'd *Looks*, putting on an unſociable Face, and declaiming againſt the innocent Entertainments of *Life*, with as much Sharpneſs as they could beſtow upon the greateſt *Crimes*. This generally is only a *Vizard*, there is ſeldom any Thing real in it. No other Thing is the better for being *Sowre*; and it would be hard that *Religion* ſhould be ſo, which is the beſt of things. In the mean time it may be ſaid with Truth, that this *ſurly* kind of *Devotion* hath perhaps done little leſs Hurt

in

in the World, by frighting, than the moſt ſcandalous *Examples* have done by infecting it.

Having told you, in theſe few Inſtances, to which many more might be added, what is not true *Religion*; it is time to deſcribe to you, what is ſo. The ordinary *Definitions* of it are no more like it, than the common Sign-poſts are like the Princes they would repreſent. The unskilful *Dawbers* in all Ages have generally laid on ſuch ill *Colours*, and drawn ſuch harſh *Lines*, that the Beauty of it is not eaſily to be diſcerned: They have put in all the forbidding Features that can be thought of; and in the firſt Place, have made it an irreconcilable Enemy to *Nature*; when, in Reality they are not only *Friends*, but *Twins*, born together at the ſame Time; and it is doing Violence to them both, to go about to have them ſeparated. Nothing is ſo kind and ſo inviting as true and *unſophiſticated Religion*: Inſtead of impoſing unneceſſary Burdens upon our *Nature*, it eaſeth us of the greater Weight of our *Paſſions* and *Miſtakes*: Inſtead of ſubduing us with *Rigor*, it redeemeth us from the *Slavery* we are in to our ſelves, who are the moſt ſevere Maſters, whilſt we are under the Uſurpation of our *Appetites* let looſe and not reſtrain'd.

Religion is a chearful Thing; ſo far from being always at *Coffs* with *Good Humour*, that it is inſeparably united to it. Nothing unpleaſant belongs to it, though the *Spiritual Cooks* have done their unskilful Part to

give an ill *Reliſh* to it. A wiſe *Epicure* would be *Religious* for the ſake of *Pleaſure*; Good Senſe is the Foundation of both, and he is a *Bungler* who aimeth at true *Luxury*, but where they are join'd.

Religion is exalted *Reaſon*, refin'd and ſifted from the groſſer Parts of it: It dwelleth in the upper Region of the *Mind*, and there are feweſt *Clouds* or *Miſts* to darken or offend it: It is both the Foundation and the Crown of all Virtues: It is *Morality* improv'd and rais'd to its Height, by being carried nearer *Heaven*, the only Place where *Perfection* reſideth. It cleanſeth the *Underſtanding*, and bruſheth off the Earth that hangeth about our *Souls*. It doth not want the *Hopes* and the *Terrors* which are made uſe of to ſupport it; neither ought it to deſcend to the borrowing any Argument out of it ſelf, ſince there we may find every Thing that ſhould invite us. If we were to be hired to *Religion*, it is able to out-bid the corrupted World, with all it can offer to us, being ſo much the *Richer* of the Two, in every Thing where *Reaſon* is admitted to be a Judge of the Value.

Since this is ſo, it is worth your Pains to make *Religion* your *Choice*, and not make uſe of it only as a *Refuge*. There are Ladies who finding by the too viſible Decay of their good Looks, that they can ſhine no more by that *Light*, put on the *Varniſh* of an affected Devotion, to keep up ſome kind of Figure in the World. They take Sanctuary in the *Church*, when

when they are purſued by growing *Contempt*, which will not be ſtopt, but followeth them to the *Altar*. Such late Penitence is only a Diſguize for the tormenting Grief of being no more handſome. That is the killing Thought which draweth the Sighs and Tears, that appear outwardly to be applied to a better End.

There are many who have an *Agueiſh Devotion*, hot and cold Fits, long Intermiſſions, and violent Raptures. This Unevenneſs is by all Means to be avoided. Let your Method be a ſteady Courſe of good *Life*, that may run like a ſmooth Stream, and be a perpetual Spring to furniſh to the continued *Exerciſe* of *Virtue*. Your *Devotion* may be earneſt, but it muſt be unconſtrained, and like other Duties, you muſt make it your *Pleaſure* too, or elſe it will have very little Efficacy. By this *Rule* you may beſt judge of your own Heart. Whilſt thoſe *Duties* are *Joys*, it is an Evidence of their being ſincere; but when they are a Penance, it is a ſign that your *Nature* maketh ſome Reſiſtance; and whilſt that laſteth, you can never be entirely ſecure of your ſelf.

If you are often unquiet, and too nearly touch'd by the croſs Accidents of *Life*, your *Devotion* is not of the right *Standard*, there is too much *Alloy* in it. That which is right and unmix'd, taketh away the *Sting* of every Thing that would trouble you: It is like a healing *Balm*, that extinguiſheth the Sharp-

ness of the Blood; so this softeneth and dissolveth the *Anguish* of the *Mind*. A devout *Mind* hath the Privilege of being free from *Passions*, as some Climates are from all venomous kind of Creatures. It will raise you above the little *Vexations* to which others for want of it, will be expos'd; and bring you to a *Temper*, not of stupid *Indifference*, but of such a wise *Resignation*, that you may live in the *World*, so as it may hang about you like a loose Garment, and not tied too close to you.

Take heed of running into that common *Error* of applying God's Judgments upon particular Occasions. Our Weights and Measures are not competent to make the Distribution either of his *Mercy* or his *Justice*: He hath thrown a Veil over these Things, which makes it not only an *Impertinence*, but a kind of *Sacrilege*, for us to give Sentence in them without his *Commission*.

As to your particular *Faith*, keep to the *Religion* that is grown up with you, both as it is the best in it self, and that the Reason of staying in it upon that Ground is somewhat stronger for your *Sex*, than it will perhaps be allow'd to be for ours; in respect that the Voluminous Enquiries into the *Truth* by Reading, are less expected from you. The *Best* of *Books* will be Direction enough to you not to change; and whilst you are fix'd and sufficiently confirm'd in your own *Mind*, you will do best to keep vain *Doubts* and *Scruples* at such a Di-

a Diſtance that they may give you no Diſquiet.

Let me recommend you to a Method of being rightly inform'd, which can never fail: It is in ſhort this: Get *Underſtanding*, and practiſe *Virtue*. And if you are ſo *Bleſſed* as to have thoſe for your *Share*, it is not ſurer that there is a *God*, than it is, that by him all *Neceſſary Truths* will be revealed to you.

HUSBAND.

THAT which challengeth the next Place in your Thoughts, is how to live with a *Huſband*. And though that is ſo large a Word, that few *Rules* can be fix'd to it which are unchangeable, the *Methods* being as various as the ſeveral *Tempers* of *Men* to which they muſt be ſuited: Yet I cannot omit ſome *General Obſervations*, which, with the Help of your own, may the better direct you in the Part of your Life upon which your *Happineſs* moſt dependeth.

It is one of the *Diſadvantages* belonging to your *Sex*, that young Women are ſeldom permitted to make their own *Choice*; their Friends

Friends Care and Experience are thought ſafer Guides to them, than their own *Fancies*; and their *Modeſty* often forbiddeth them to refuſe when their Parents recommend, though their *inward Conſent* may not entirely go along with it. In this Caſe there remaineth nothing for them to do, but to endeavour to make that eaſy which falleth to their *Lot*, and by a wiſe Uſe of every Thing they may diſlike in a *Husband*, turn that by degrees to be very ſupportable, which, if neglected, might in time beget an *Averſion*.

You muſt firſt lay it down for a Foundation in general, That there is *Inequality* in the *Sexes*, and that for better Oeconomy of the World, the *Men*, who were to be the Law-givers, had the larger Share of *Reaſon* beſtow'd upon them; by which Means your Sex is the better prepar'd for the *Compliance* that is neceſſary for the better Performance of thoſe *Duties* which ſeem to be moſt properly aſſign'd to it. This looks a little uncourtly at the firſt Appearance; but upon Examination it will be found, that *Nature* is ſo far from being unjuſt to you, that ſhe is partial on our Side. She hath made you ſuch large *Amends* by other Advantages, for the ſeeming *Injuſtice* of the firſt Diſtribution, that the Right of Complaining is come over to our Sex. You have it in your Power not only to free your ſelves, but to ſubdue your Maſters, and without Violence throw both their *Natural* and *Legal Authority* at your Feet. We are made of differing *Tem-*

pers,

pers, that our *Defects* may the better be mutually ſupplied: Your *Sex* wanteth our *Reaſon* for your *Conduct*, and our *Strength* for your *Protection: Ours* wanteth your *Gentleneſs* to ſoften, and to entertain us. The firſt Part of our Life is a good deal ſubjected to you in the *Nurſery*, where you Reign without Competition, and by that Means have the Advantage of giving the firſt *Impreſſions*. Afterwards you have ſtronger Influences, which, well manag'd, have more Force in your Behalf, than all our *Privileges* and *Juriſdictions* can pretend to have againſt you. You have more Strength in your *Looks*, than we have in our *Laws*, and more Power by your *Tears*, than we have by our *Arguments*.

It is true, that the *Laws* of *Marriage* run in a harſher Stile towards your *Sex: Obey* is an ungenteel Word, and leſs eaſy to be digeſted, by making ſuch an unkind Diſtinction in the Words of the Contract, and ſo very unſuitable to the Exceſs of *Good Manners* which generally goes before it. Beſides, the *Univerſality* of the Rule ſeemeth to be a *Grievance*, and it appeareth reaſonable, that there might be an *Exemption* for extraordinary Women, from ordinary Rules, to take away the juſt Exception that lieth againſt the falſe Meaſure of *general Equality*.

It may be alledged by the *Council* retained by your Sex, That as there is in all other Laws, an Appeal from the *Letter* to the *Equity*, in Caſes that require it; it is as reaſonable, that ſome

ſome *Court* of a larger *Juriſdiction* might be erected, where ſome *Wives* might reſort and plead *ſpecially*. And in ſuch Inſtances where Nature is ſo kind, as to raiſe them above the *Level* of their own *Sex*, they might have *Relief*, and obtain a *Mitigation* in their own Particular, of a *Sentence* which was given generally againſt *Womankind*. The Cauſes of *Separation* are now ſo very courſe, that few are *confident* enough to buy their *Liberty* at the Price of having their Modeſty ſo expoſed. And for *Diſparity of Minds*, which above all other Things requireth a *Remedy*, the *Laws* have made no *Proviſion*; ſo little refin'd are Numbers of Men, by whom they are compil'd. This and a great deal more might be ſaid to give a Colour to the Complaint.

But the Anſwer to it in ſhort is, That the *Inſtitution* of *Marriage* is too Sacred to admit a *Liberty* of *objecting* to it; that the Suppoſition of yours being the weaker *Sex*, having without all Doubt a good Foundation, maketh it reaſonable to ſubject it to the *Maſculine Dominion*; That no *Rule* can be ſo *perfect*, as not to admit ſome *Exceptions*; but the Law preſumeth there would be ſo few found in this Caſe, who would have a ſufficient Right to ſuch a Privilege, that it is ſafer ſome *Injuſtice* ſhould be *conniv'd* at in a very few Inſtances, than to break into an Eſtabliſhment, upon which the Order of Human Society doth ſo much depend.

You

You are therefore to make your best of what is *settled* by *Law* and *Custom*, and not vainly imagine, that it will be *changed* for your Sake. But that you may not be discouraged, as if you lay under the Weight of an *incurable Grievance*, you are to know, that by a *wise* and *dextrous* Conduct, it will be in your Power to *relieve* your self from any Thing that looketh like a Disadvantage in it. For your better Direction, I will give a Hint of the most ordinary *Causes* of *Dissatisfaction* between Man and Wife, that you may be able by such a *Warning* to live so upon your *Guard*, that when you shall be married, you may know how to *cure* your Husband's *Mistakes*, and to *prevent* your own.

First then you are to consider, you live in a Time which hath rendred some kind of Frailties so habitual, that they lay Claim to large *Grains* of *Allowance*. The World in this is somewhat unequal, and our Sex seemeth to play the *Tyrant* in distinguishing *partially* for our selves, by making that in the utmost degree *Criminal* in the *Woman*, which in a *Man* passeth under a much *gentler Censure*. The Root and the Excuse of this Injustice is the *Preservation* of Families from any *Mixture* which may bring a Blemish to them: And whilst the *Point* of *Honour* continues to be so plac'd, it seems unavoidable to give your *Sex* the greater share of the Penalty. But if in this it lieth under any *Disadvantage*; you are more than recompenc'd, by having the *Honour* of *Families* in

in your keeping. The Conſideration ſo great a Truſt muſt give you, maketh full Amends; and this Power the World hath lodged in you, can hardly fail to reſtrain the Severity of an *ill* Husband, and to improve the Kindneſs and Eſteem of a *good* one. This being ſo, remember, that next to the danger of *committing* the Fault your ſelf, the greateſt is that of *ſeeing* it in your *Husband*. Do not ſeem to look or hear that Way: If he is a Man of Senſe, he will reclaim himſelf; the Folly of it, is of it ſelf ſufficient to cure him; if he is not ſo, he will be provok'd, but not reform'd. To expoſtulate in theſe Caſes, looketh like declaring War, and preparing Reprizals; which to a *thinking Huſband* would be a dangerous Reflection. Beſides, it is ſo courſe a Reaſon which will be aſſign'd for a Lady's too great Warmth upon ſuch an Occaſion, that Modeſty no leſs than Prudence ought to reſtrain her; ſince ſuch an undecent Complaint makes a Wife much more ridiculous, than the Injury that provoketh her to it. But it is yet worſe and more unskilful, to *blaze* it in the World, expecting it ſhould riſe up in Arms to take her Part: Whereas ſhe will find it can have no other Effect, than that ſhe will be ſerved up in all Companies, as the *reigning Jeſt* at that Time; and will continue to be the common Entertainment, till ſhe is reſcu'd by ſome *newer Folly* that cometh upon the Stage, and driveth her away from it. The Impertinence of ſuch Methods is ſo plain, that it doth not deſerve

deſerve the Pains of being laid open. Be aſſur'd, that in theſe Caſes your *Diſcretion* and *Silence* will be the moſt *prevailing Reproof*; an *affected Ignorance*, which is ſeldom a *Virtue*, is a great one here: And when your *Huſband* ſeeth how unwilling you are to be uneaſy, there is no ſtronger Argument to perſuade him not to be unjuſt to you. Beſides, it will naturally make him more *yielding* in other Things: And whether it be to *cover* or redeem his *Offence*, you may have the good Effects of it whilſt it laſteth, and all that while have the moſt reaſonable Ground that can be, of preſuming ſuch a Behaviour will at laſt entirely convert him. There is nothing ſo glorious to a *Wife*, as a Victory ſo gain'd: A Man ſo reclaim'd, is for ever after ſubjected to her *Virtue*; and her *bearing* for a Time, is more than rewarded by a Triumph that will continue as long as her Life.

The next Thing I will ſuppoſe, is, that your *Husband* may love *Wine* more than is convenient. It will be granted, that though there are Vices of a deeper Die, there are none that have greater *Deformity* than this, when it is not reſtrain'd: But with all this, the ſame Cuſtom, which is the more to be lamented for its being ſo general, ſhould make it leſs uneaſy to every one in Particular who is to ſuffer by the Effects of it: So that in the firſt Place, it will be no new Thing if you ſhould have a *Drunkard* for your *Husband*; and there is by too frequent Examples Evidence enough, that ſuch a Thing

a Thing may happen, and yet a *Wife* may live too without being miſerable. *Self-Love* dictateth aggravating Words to every Thing we feel; *Ruin* and *Miſery* are the Terms we apply to whatever we do not like; forgetting the Mixture allotted to us by the Condition of Human Life, by which it is not intended we ſhould be quite exempt from Trouble. It is fair if we can eſcape ſuch a Degree of it as would oppreſs us, and enjoy ſo much of the pleaſant Part as may leſſen the ill Taſte of ſuch Things as are unwelcome to us. Every Thing hath two Sides, and for our own Eaſe we ought to direct our Thoughts to that which may be leaſt liable to Exception. To fall upon the *worſt Side* of a *Drunkard*, giveth ſo unpleaſant a Proſpect, that it is not poſſible to dwell upon it. Let us paſs then to the more *favourable Part*, as far as a *Wife* is concern'd in it.

I am tempted to ſay (if the Irregularity of the Expreſſion could in Strictneſs be juſtified) that a *Wife* is to thank God her *Husband* hath *Faults*. Mark the ſeeming Paradox, my Dear, for your own Inſtruction, it being intended no further. A *Husband* without *Faults* is a dangerous Obſerver; he hath an Eye ſo piercing, and ſeeth every Thing ſo plain, that it is expos'd to his full Cenſure. And though I will not doubt but that your *Virtue* will diſappoint the ſharpeſt Enquiries; yet few Women can bear the having all they ſay or do *repreſented* in the clear Glaſs of an Underſtanding

ing without *Faults*. Nothing ſoftneth the *Arrogance* of our *Nature*, like a Mixture of ſome *Frailties*. It is by them we are beſt told, that we muſt not ſtrike too hard upon others, becauſe we our ſelves do ſo often deſerve Blows: They pull our Rage by the Sleeve, and whiſper Gentleneſs to us in our Cenſures, even when they are rightly applied. The *Faults* and *Paſſions* of *Husbands* bring them down to you, and make them content to live upon leſs unequal Terms, than Faultleſs Men would be willing to ſtoop to; ſo haughty is Mankind till humbled by common Weakneſſes and Defects, which in our corrupted State contribute more towards the reconciling us one to another, than all the *Precepts* of the *Philoſophers* and *Divines*. So that where the *Errors* of our *Nature* make Amends for the *Diſadvantages* of yours, it is more your Part to make uſe of the *Benefit*, than to quarrel at the *Fault*.

Thus in caſe a *Drunken Husband* ſhould fall to your Share, if you will be *wiſe* and *patient*, his *Wine* ſhall be of your Side; it will throw a *Veil* over your Miſtakes, and will ſet out and improve every Thing you do, that he is pleaſed with. Others will like him leſs, and by that means he may perhaps like you the more. When after having dined too well, he is receiv'd at Home without a *Storm*, or ſo much as a *Reproaching Look*, the *Wine* will naturally work out all in Kindneſs, which a *Wife* muſt encourage, let it be wrapped up in never ſo much

much Impertinence. On the other Side, it would boil up into *Rage*, if the miſtaken *Wife* ſhould treat him roughly, like a certain Thing called a *kind Shrew*, than which the World, with all its Plenty, cannot ſhew a more ſenſeleſs, ill-bred, forbidding Creature. Conſider that where the Man will give ſuch frequent Intermiſſions of the Uſe of his *Reaſon*, the *Wife* inſenſibly getteth a Right of *Governing* in the Vacancy, and that raiſeth her *Character* and *Credit* in the Family, to a higher Pitch than perhaps could be done under a *ſober Husband*, who never putteth himſelf into an Incapacity of holding the *Reins*. If theſe are not entire *Conſolations*, at leaſt they are *Remedies* to ſome Degree. They cannot make *Drunkenneſs* a *Virtue*, nor a *Husband* given to it a *Felicity*; but you will do your ſelf no ill Office in the endeavouring, by theſe Means, to make the beſt of ſuch a *Lot*, in caſe it ſhould happen to be yours; and by the help of a wiſe Obſervation, to make that very ſupportable, which would otherwiſe be a *Load* that would oppreſs you.

The next Caſe I will put, is that your *Huſband* may be *Cholerick* or *Ill-humour'd*. To this it may be ſaid, that *paſſionate* Men generally make Amends at the Foot of the Account. Such a Man, if he is angry one Day without any *Senſe*, will the next Day be as kind without any *Reaſon*: So that by marking how the *Wheels* of ſuch a Man's Head are uſed to move, you may eaſily bring over all

all his *Paſſion* to your Party. Inſtead of being ſtruck down by his Thunder, you ſhall direct it where and upon whom you ſhall think it beſt applied. Thus are the *ſtrongeſt Poiſons* turn'd to the *beſt Remedies*; but then there muſt be *Art* in it, and a *skilful Hand*, elſe the leaſt *Bungling* maketh it Mortal. There is a great deal of nice Care requiſite to deal with a Man of this Complexion. *Choler* proceedeth from *Pride*, and maketh a Man ſo Partial to himſelf, that he ſwelleth againſt Contradiction; and thinketh he is leſſened if he is oppoſed. You muſt in this Caſe take heed of *increaſing the Storm* by an *unwary Word*, or *kindling the Fire* whilſt the Wind is in a Corner which may blow it in your Face: You are dextrouſly to yield every Thing till he beginneth to cool, and then by ſlow Degrees you may riſe and gain upon him: Your *Gentleneſs* well timed, will, like a Charm, diſpel his Anger ill placed; a *kind Smile* will *reclaim*, when a *ſhrill pettiſh Anſwer* would *provoke* him; rather than fail upon ſuch Occaſions, when other *Remedies* are too weak, a little *Flattery* may be admitted, which by being neceſſary, will ceaſe to be Criminal.

If *Ill-Humour* and *Sullenneſs*, and not open and ſudden Heat is his Diſeaſe, there is a way of treating that too, ſo as to make it a Grievance to be endured. In order to it, you are firſt to know, that naturally *good Senſe* hath a Mixture of *Surly* in it: And there being ſo much *Folly* in the World, and for the moſt part

part ſo triumphant, it giveth frequent Temptations to raiſe the *Spleen* of Men who think right. Therefore that which may generally be call'd *Ill-Humour*, is not always a Fault; it becometh one when either it is wrong applied, or that it is continued too long, when it is not ſo: For this Reaſon you muſt not too haſtily fix an ill Name upon that which may perhaps not deſerve it; and though the Caſe ſhould be, that your *Huſband* might too ſowrely reſent any Thing he diſliketh, it may ſo happen, that more Blame ſhall belong to your *Miſtake*, than to his *Ill-Humour*. If a *Huſband* behaveth himſelf ſometimes with an *Indifference* that a *Wife* may think offenſive, ſhe is in the Wrong to put the worſt Senſe upon it; if by any Means it will admit a better. Some *Wives* will call it *Ill-Humour*, if their Husbands change their *Stile* from that which they uſed whilſt they made their Addreſſes to them: Others will allow no *Intermiſſion* or *Abatement* in the Expreſſions of Kindneſs to them; not enough diſtinguiſhing Times, and forgetting that it is impoſſible for Men to keep themſelves up all their Lives to the height of ſome *extravagant Moments:* A Man may at ſome times be leſs careful in little Things, without any cold or diſobliging Reaſon for it; as a *Wife* may be too expecting in ſmaller Matters, without drawing upon her ſelf the Inference of being *unkind*. And if your *Husband* ſhould be really ſullen, and have ſuch frequent Fits, as might take away the Excuſe of it, it concerneth

cerneth you to have an Eye prepared to diſcern the firſt Appearances of Cloudy Weather, and to watch when the Fit goeth off, which ſeldom laſteth long, if it is let alone. But whilſt the Mind is ſore, every thing galleth it, and that maketh it neceſſary to let the *Black Humour* begin to ſpend it ſelf, before you come in and venture to undertake it.

If in the Lottery of the World you ſhould draw a *Covetous Huſband*, I confeſs it will not make you proud of your *good Luck*; yet even ſuch a one may be endured too, though there are few Paſſions more untractable than that of *Avarice*. You muſt firſt take care that your *Definition* of *Avarice* may not be a Miſtake. You are to examine every Circumſtance of your *Huſband*'s Fortune, and weigh the Reaſon of every thing you expect from him, before you have Right to pronounce that Sentence. The Complaint is now ſo general againſt all *Huſbands*, that it giveth great Suſpicion of its being often ill-grounded; it is impoſſible they ſhould all deſerve that Cenſure, and therefore it is certain that it is many Times miſapplied. He that *ſpareth* in every Thing is an *inexcuſable Niggard*; he that *ſpareth* in Nothing is as *inexcuſable a Madman*. The *Mean* is, to ſpare in what is leaſt neceſſary, to lay out more liberally in what is moſt required in our ſeveral Circumſtances. Yet this will not always ſatisfy. There are *Wives* who are impatient of the Rules of Oeconomy, and are apt to call their *Huſband's* Kindneſs

in Question, if any other Measure is put to their Expence than that of their own Fancy. Be sure to avoid this dangerous Error; such a Partiality to your Self, which is so offensive to an understanding Man, that he will very ill bear a *Wife's* giving her self such an injurious *Preference* to all the *Family*, and whatever belongeth to it.

But to admit the worst, and that your *Husband* is really a *Close-handed Wretch*; you must in this, as in other Cases, endeavour to make it less afflicting to you. And first you must observe *seasonable Hours* of speaking. When you offer any Thing in Opposition to this reigning Humour, a *third Hand* and a *wise Friend*, may often prevail more than you will be allowed to do in your own Cause. Sometimes you are dexterously to go along with him in Things, where you see that the niggardly Part of his Mind is most predominant, by which you will have the better Opportunity of perswading him in Things where he may be more indifferent. Our *Passions* are very unequal, and are apt to be raised or lessened according as they work upon different Objects; they are not to be *stopped* or *restrained* in those Things where our Mind is more particularly engaged. In other Matters they are more tractable, and will sometimes give Reason a Hearing, and admit a fair Dispute. More than that, there are few Men, even in this Instance of *Avarice*, so entirely abandoned to it, that at some Hours, and upon some Occasi-

ons,

ons, will not forget their Natures, and for that Time turn Prodigal. The same Man who will *grudge* himself what is *necessary*, let his *Pride* be raised and he shall be *profuse*; at another Time his *Anger* shall have the same Effect; a Fit of *Vanity*, *Ambition*, and sometimes of *Kindness*, shall open and enlarge his *narrow Mind*; a Dose of Wine will work upon this tough Humour, and for the Time dissolve it. Your Business must be, if this Case happeneth, to watch these *critical Moments*, and not let one of them slip without making your Advantage of it; and a *Wife* may be said to want *Skill*, if by this Means she is not able to secure her self, in a good Measure, against the Inconveniences this scurvy Quality in a *Husband* might bring upon her, except he should be such an incurable *Monster*, as I hope will never fall to your share.

The last Supposition I will make, is, That your *Husband* should be *weak*, and *incompetent* to make use of the Privileges that belong to him. It will be yieldless, that such a one deaveth Room for a great many Objections. But God Almighty seldom sendeth a *Grievance* without a *Remedy*, or at least such a Mitigation as taketh away a great part of the Sting and the Smart of it. To make such a *Misfortune* less heavy, you are first to bring to your Observation, That a *Wife* very often maketh a better Figure, for her *Husband's* making no great one: And there seemeth to be little Reason, why the same *Lady* that chuseth a *Waiting-*

ting-Woman with *wayſe Looks*, may not be content with a *Huſband* with *leſs Wit*; the Argument being equal from the Advantage of the Comparison. If you will be more aſhamed in ſome Caſes, of ſuch a *Huſband*, you will be leſs afraid than you would perhaps be of a wiſe one. His *Unſeaſonable Weakneſs* may no doubt ſometimes grieve you, but then ſet againſt this, that it giveth you the *Dominion*, if you will make the right uſe of it. It is next to his being dead, in which Caſe the *Wife* hath Right to adminiſter; therefore be ſure, if you have ſuch an Idiot, that none, except your ſelf, may have the Benefit of the Forfeiture; Such a Fool is a dangerous Beaſt, if others have the keeping of him; and you muſt be very undexterous, if when your *Huſband* ſhall reſolve to be an *Aſs*, you do not take Care he may be *your Aſs*. But you muſt go skilfully about it; and above all Things, take heed of diſtinguiſhing in Publick, what Kind of *Huſband* he is; Your inward Thoughts muſt not hinder the outward Payment of the Conſideration that is due to him: Your *ſlighting* him in *Company*, beſides that it would, to a diſcerning By-ſtander, give too great Encouragement for the making nearer Applications to you, is in it ſelf ſuch an undecent Way of aſſuming, that it may provoke the tame Creature to break looſe, and to ſhew his *Dominion* for his Credit, which he was content to forget for his Eaſe. In ſhort, the ſureſt and the moſt approved

Method

Method will be, to do like a wiſe *Miniſter* to an eaſy *Prince*; firſt give him the Orders you afterwards receive from him.

With all this, that which you are to pray for, is a *Wiſe Huſband*, one that by knowing how to be a *Maſter*, for that very Reaſon will not let you feel the Weight of it; one whoſe Authority is ſo ſoften'd by his Kindneſs, that giveth you Eaſe without abridging your *Liberty*; one that will return ſo much Tenderneſs for your *juſt Eſteem* of him, that you will never want *Power*, though you will ſeldom care to uſe it. Such a *Huſband* is as much above all the other Kinds of them, as a *rational Subjection* to a Prince, great in himſelf, is to be preferr'd before the Diſquiet and Uneaſineſs of *Unlimited Liberty*.

Before I leave this Head, I muſt add a little concerning your *Behaviour* to your *Huſband's Friends*, which requireth the moſt refined Part of your Underſtanding to acquit your ſelf well of it. You are to ſtudy how to live with them with more Care than you are to apply to any other Part of your Life; eſpecially at firſt, that you may not ſtumble at the firſt ſetting out. The *Family* into which you are grafted will generally be apt to expect, that like a Stranger in a Foreign Country, you ſhould conform to their Methods, and not bring in a new Model by your own Authority. The *Friends* in ſuch a Caſe are tempted to riſe up in Arms as againſt an unlawful Invaſion; ſo that you are with the utmoſt Caution to a-

void the leaſt Appearances of any Thing of this Kind. And that you may with leſs Difficulty afterwards give your Directions, be ſure at firſt to receive them from your *Huſband's* Friends. Gain them to you by early applying to them, and they will be ſo ſatisfied, that as nothing is more thankful than Pride when it is complied with, they will ſtrive which of them ſhall moſt recommend you; and when they have helped you to take Root in your *Huſband's* good Opinion, you will have leſs Dependance upon theirs, though you muſt not neglect any reaſonable Means of preſerving it. You are to conſider, that a Man govern'd by his *Friends*, is very eaſily inflamed by them; and that one who is not ſo, will yet for his own Sake expect to have them conſider'd. It is eaſily improved to a Point of Honour in a *Huſband*, not to have his *Relations* neglected; and nothing is more dangerous, than to raiſe an Objection, which is grounded upon *Pride*: It is the moſt ſtubborn and laſting Paſſion we are ſubject to, and where it is the firſt Cauſe of the *War*, it is very hard to make a ſecure *Peace*. Your *Caution* in this is of the laſt Importance to you.

And that you may the better ſucceed in it, carry a ſtrict Eye upon the *Impertinence* of your *Servants*; take heed that their *Ill-humour* may not engage you to take Exceptions, or their too much aſſuming in ſmall Matters, raiſe Conſequences which may bring you under great Diſadvantage. Remember

that

that in the Caſe of a *Royal Bride*, thoſe about her are generally ſo far ſuſpected to bring in a Foreign Intereſt, that in moſt Countries they are inſenſibly reduced to a very ſmall Number, and thoſe of ſo low a Figure, that it does not admit the being *Jealous* of them. In little and in the Proportion this may be the Caſe of every *New-married Woman*, and therefore it may be more adviſeable for you, to gain the *Servants* you find in a Family, than to tie your ſelf too faſt to thoſe you carry into it.

You are not to overlook theſe ſmall Reflections, becauſe they may appear low and inconſiderable; for it may be ſaid, that as the *greateſt Streams* are made up of the *ſmall Drops* at the Head of the Springs from whence they are derived, ſo the *greater Circumſtances* of your Life will be in ſome Degree directed by theſe ſeeming *Triſles*, which having the Advantage of being the firſt Acts of it, have a greater Effect than ſingly in their own Nature they could pretend to.

I will conclude this Article with my Advice, That you would as much as Nature will give you leave, endeavour to forget the great *Indulgence* you have found at Home. After ſuch a gentle Diſcipline as you have been under, every Thing you diſlike will ſeem the harther to you. The Tenderneſs we have had for you, *My Dear*, is of another Nature, peculiar to kind Parents, and differing from that which you will meet with firſt in any Family into which you ſhall be tranſplanted; and yet they

may be very kind too, and afford no juſtifiable Reaſon to you to complain. You muſt not be frighted with the firſt Appearances of a *differing Scene*; for when you are uſed to it, you may like the Houſe you go to, better than that you left; and your *Huſband's* Kindneſs will have ſo much Advantage of ours, that we ſhall yield up all *Competition*, and as well as we love you, be very well contented to ſurrender to ſuch a *Rival.*

HOUSE, FAMILY, and CHILDREN.

YOU muſt lay before you, *my Dear*, that there are Degrees of Care to recommend your ſelf to the World in the ſeveral Parts of your Life. In many things, though the doing them well may raiſe your *Credit* and *Eſteem*, yet the Omiſſion of them would draw no immediate Reproach upon you: In others, where your Duty is more particularly applied, the *Neglect* of them is amongſt thoſe Faults which are not forgiven, and will bring you under a *Cenſure*, which will be much a heavier thing than the Trouble you would avoid. Of this Kind is the *Government* of your *Houſe*, *Fami-*

ly, and *Children*; which ſince it is the Province allotted to your Sex, and that the *diſcharging it well*, will for that Reaſon be expected from you, if you either deſert it out of *Laziness*, or manage it ill for *want of Skill*, inſtead of a *Help* you will be an *Incumbrance* to the *Family* where you are placed.

I muſt tell you, that no *Reſpect* is laſting but that which is produced by our being in ſome degree uſeful to thoſe that pay it. Where that faileth, the Homage and the Reverence go along with it, and fly to others, where ſomething may be expected in Exchange for them. And upon this Principle, the *Reſpects* even of the *Children* and the *Servants* will not ſtay with one that doth not think them worth their Care; and the old *Houſe-keeper* ſhall make a better Figure in the Family, than the *Lady*, with all her fine Cloaths, if ſhe wilfully relinquiſhes her Title to the *Government*. Therefore take heed of carrying your *good Breeding* to ſuch a height, as to be good for nothing, and to be proud of it. Some think it hath a great Air, to be above troubling their Thoughts with ſuch ordinary Things, as their *Houſe* and *Family*; others dare not admit *Cares*, for fear they ſhould haſten *Wrinkles*: Miſtaken *Pride* maketh ſome think they muſt keep themſelves up, and deſcend not to theſe Duties, which do not ſeem enough refined for great *Ladies* to be employ'd in; forgetting all this while, that it is more than the greateſt *Princes* can do, at once to preſerve Reſpect, and to neglect their

Buſineſs. No *Age* ever erected *Altars* to *inſignificant Gods*: they had all ſome Quality appried to them, to draw *Worſhip* from *Mankind*: This maketh it the more unreaſonable for a *Lady* to expect to be conſider'd, and at the ſame time reſolve not to deſerve it. *Good Looks* alone will not do; they are not ſuch a laſting *Tenure*, as to be relied upon; and if they ſhould ſtay longer than they uſually do, it will by no means be ſafe to depend upon them: For when Time hath abated the Violence of the firſt liking, and that the *Nap* is a little worn off, though ſtill a good Degree of Kindneſs may remain, Men recover their Sight, which before might be dazzled, and allow themſelves to object as well as to admire.

In ſuch a Caſe, when a *Huſband* ſeeth an empty airy Thing ſail up and down the Houſe to no kind of purpoſe, and look as if ſhe came thither only to make a Viſit: When he findeth that after her *Emptineſs* hath been extreme buſy about ſome very ſenſleſs thing, ſhe eats her Breakfaſt an Hour before Dinner, to be at greater Liberty to affect the Company with her Diſcourſe; when calleth for her Coach, that ſhe may trouble her Acquaintance, who are already cloy'd with her: And having ſome *proper Dialogues* ready to diſplay her *fooliſh Eloquence* at the Top of the Stairs, ſhe fetcheth out like a Ship out of the Harbour, laden with Trifles, and cometh back with them. At her Return, ſhe repeateth to her faithful Waiting-Woman, the *Triumphs* of that Day's *Impertinence*; then wrap'd

wrap'd up in Flattery and clean Linen, goeth to Bed ſo ſatisfied, that it throweth her into pleaſant Dreams of her own Felicity. Such a one is ſeldom ſerious, but with her *Taylor*; her *Children* and Family may now and then have a random Thought, but ſhe never taketh aim but at ſomething very impertinent. I ſay, when a *Huſband*, whoſe Province is without Doors, and to whom the Oeconomy of the Houſe would be in ſome degree indecent, findeth no *Order* nor *Quiet* in his *Family*, meeteth with *Complaints* of all Kinds ſpringing from this Root; the *Miſtaken Lady*, who thinketh to make *amends* for all this, by having a well-choſen *Petticoat*, will at laſt be convinced of her *Error*, and with Grief be forced to undergo the Penalties that belong to thoſe who are wilfully *Inſignificant*. When this ſcurvy Hour cometh upon her, ſhe firſt groweth *angry*; then when the Time of it is paſt, would perhaps grow *wiſer*, not remembring that we can no more have *Wiſdom* than *Grace*, whenever we think fit to call for it. There are Times and Periods fix'd for both; and when they are too long neglected, the Puniſhment is, that they are *Irrecoverable*, and nothing remaineth but an uſeleſs *Grief* for the Folly of having thrown them out of our Power. You are to think what a mean Figure a Woman maketh, when ſhe is ſo degraded by her own Fault; whereas there is nothing in thoſe Duties which are expected from you, that can be a leſſening to you, except your want

of

of *Conduct* makes it ſo. You may love your *Children*, without living in the *Nurſery*; and you may have a *competent* and *diſcreet Care* of them, without letting it break out upon the Company, or expoſing your ſelf by turning your Diſcourſe that way, which is a kind of *Laying Children* to the *Pariſh*; and it can hardly be done any where, that thoſe who bear it, will be ſo forgiving, as not to think they are overchaged with them. A Woman's *Tenderneſs* to her *Children*, is one of the leaſt deceitful Evidences of her Virtue; but yet the Way of expreſſing it, muſt be ſubject to the Rules of *good Breeding*: And though a *Woman* of *Quality* ought not to be leſs kind to them, than *Mothers* of the *Meaneſt Rank* are to theirs, yet ſhe may diſtinguiſh her ſelf in the *Manner*, and avoid the coarſe Methods, which in Women of a lower Size might be more excuſable. You muſt begin early to make them *love* you, that they may *obey* you. This Mixture is no where more neceſſary than in Children. And I muſt tell you, that you are not to expect Returns of Kindneſs from yours, if ever you have any, without Grains of Allowance; and yet it is not ſo much a *Defect* in their *good Nature*, as a *Shortneſs of Thought* in them. Their firſt *Inſufficiency* maketh them lean ſo entirely upon their *Parents* for what is neceſſary, that the Habit of it maketh them continue the ſame *Expectations* for what is *unreaſonable*; and as often as they are *denied*, ſo often they think they are *injured*:

And

And whilſt their *Deſires* are ſtrong, and their *Reaſons* yet in the Cradle, their *Anger* looketh no farther than the Thing they long for, and cannot have; and to be *diſpleaſed* for their *own Good*, is a *Maxim* they are very ſlow to underſtand: So that you may conclude, the firſt Thoughts of your *Children* will have no ſmall Mixture of Mutiny; which being ſo natural, you muſt not be angry, except you would increaſe it. You muſt deny them as ſeldom as you can, and when there is no avoiding it, your muſt do it *gently*; you muſt flatter away their ill Humour, and take the next Opportunity of pleaſing them in ſome other thing, before they either aſk or look for it: This will ſtrengthen your *Authority*, by making it ſoft to them; and confirm their *Obedience*, by making it their Intereſt. You are to have as ſtrict a Guard upon your ſelf amongſt your *Children*, as if you were amongſt your *Enemies*. They are apt to make wrong Inferences, to take Encouragement from half Words, and miſapply what you may ſay or do, ſo as either to leſſen their *Duty*, or to extend their *Liberty* farther than is convenient. Let them be more in awe of your *Kindneſs*, than of your *Power*: And above all, take heed of ſupporting a *Favourite Child* in its Impertinence, which will give Right to the reſt of claiming the ſame Privilege. If you have a divided Number, leave the *Boys* to the *Father*'s more peculiar Care, that you may with greater Juſtice pretend to a more immediate Juriſdiction over thoſe of your

own

own *Sex*. You are to live ſo with them, that they may never chuſe to avoid you, except when they have *offended*; and then let them tremble, that they may diſtinguiſh: But their Penance muſt not continue ſo long, as to grow too *ſowre* upon their *Stomachs*, that it may not *harden* inſtead of *correcting* them: The kind and ſeverse Part muſt have their ſeveral *turns* ſeaſonably applied; but your *Indulgence* is to have the broader Mixture, that *Love* rather than *Fear*, may be the Root of their *Obedience*.

Your *Servants* are, in the next place, to be conſidered: And you muſt remember not to fall into the Miſtake of thinking, that becauſe they receive Wages, and are ſo much *inferior* to you, therefore they are *below* your Care to know how to manage them. It would be as good Reaſon for a *Maſter-Workman* to deſpiſe the *Wheels* of his *Engines*, becauſe they are made of *Wood*. Theſe are the *Wheels* of your *Family*; and let your Directions be never ſo faultleſs, yet if theſe *Engines* ſtop or move wrong, the whole Order of your *Houſe* is either at a ſtand, or diſcompoſed. Beſides, the *Inequality* which is between you, muſt not make you forget that *Nature* maketh no ſuch Diſtinction, but that *Servants* may be looked upon as *humble Friends*, and that *Returns* of *Kindneſs* and *good Offices* are as much due to ſuch of them as deſerve it, as their *Service* is due to us when we require it. A *fooliſh Haughtineſs* in the Style of *ſpeaking*, or in the manner of

com-

commanding them, is in its self very undecent; besides that it begetteth an *Aversion* in them, of which the least ill Effect to be expected, is, that they will be *slow* and *careless* in all that is enjoined them: And you will find it true by your Experience, that you will be so much the more *obeyed*, as you are less *imperious*. Be not *too hasty* in giving your *Orders*, nor *too angry* when they are not altogether *observed*; much less are you to be loud, and too much disturbed: An *Evenness* in distinguishing when they do well or *ill*, is that which will make your *Family* move by a Rule, and without Noise, and will the better set out your Skill in conducting it with Ease and Silence, that it may be like a well disciplin'd Army, which knoweth how to anticipate the *Orders* that are fit to be given them. You are never to neglect the Duty of the *present Hour* to do another Thing, which tho' it may be better in it self, is not to be unseasonably preferred. Allot well-chosen Hours for the Inspection of your *Family*, which may be so distinguished from the rest of your Time, that the *necessary Cares* may come in their proper place, without any Influence upon your good Humour, or Interruption to other things. By these Methods you will put your self in Possession of being valued by your Servants, and then their *Obedience* will naturally follow.

I must not forget one of the greatest *Articles* belonging to a *Family*, which is the *Expence*. It must not be such, as by failing either in the

Time

Time or Meaſure of it, may rather draw *Cenſure* than gain *Applauſe*. If it was well examined, there is more Money given to be laughed at, than for any one thing in the World, though the Purchaſers do not think ſo. A well ſtated Rule is like the *Line*, when that is once paſs'd, we are under another *Pole*; ſo the firſt *ſtraying* from a *Rule*, is a Step towards making that which was before a *Virtue*, to change its Nature, and to grow either into a *Vice*, or at leaſt an *Impertinence*. The Art of laying out Money wiſely, is not attained to without a great deal of Thought; and it is yet more difficult in the Caſe of a *Wife*, who is accountable to her *Huſband* for her Miſtakes in it. It is not only his *Money*, his *Credit* too is at Stake, if what lieth under the *Wife*'s Care is managed, either with undecent *Thrift*, or too looſe *Profuſion*. You are therefore to keep the *Mean* between theſe two *Extremes*; and it being hardly poſſible to hold the Balance exactly even, let it rather incline towards the *Liberal* Side, as more ſuitable to your *Quality*, and leſs ſubject to *Reproach*. Of the two, a little *Money* miſ-ſpent is ſooner *recovered*, than the *Credit* which is loſt by having it unhandſomely *ſaved*; and a wiſe *Huſband* will leſs forgive a ſhameful Piece of *Parſimony*, than a little *Extravagance*, if it be not too often repeated. His *Mind* in this muſt be your chief *Direction*; and his *Temper*, when once known, will in great meaſure juſtify your Part in the Management, if he is pleaſed with it.

In

In your *Cloaths* avoid too much Gaudy; do not value your ſelf upon an *Embroidered Gown* and remember that a *reaſonable Word*, or an *obliging Look*, will gain you more Reſpect than all your *fine Trappings*. This is not ſaid to reſtrain you from a *decent Compliance* with the World, provided you take the wiſer, and not the fooliſher Part of your Sex for your Pattern. Some *Diſtinctions* are to be allowed, whilſt they are well ſuited to your *Quality* and *Fortune*; and in the Diſtribution of the Expence, it ſeemeth to me that a *full Attendance*, and *well choſen Ornaments* for your Houſe, will make you a better Figure, than *too much glittering* in what you wear, which may with more Eaſe be imitated by thoſe that are below you. Yet this muſt not tempt you to ſtarve every thing, but your own Apartment; or in order to more Abundance there, give juſt Cauſe to the leaſt Servant you have, to complain of the Want of what is neceſſary. Above all, fix it in your Thoughts, as an unchangeable *Maxim*, That nothing is *truly fine* but what is *fit*; and that juſt ſo much as is proper for your *Circumſtances* of their ſeveral Kinds, is much finer than all you can add to it. When you once break through theſe Bounds, you launch into a wide Sea of *Extravagance*. Every thing will become neceſſary, becauſe you have a mind to it; and you have a mind to it, not becauſe it is *fit* for you, but becauſe ſomebody elſe *hath it*. This *Lady's Logick* ſetteth *Reaſon* upon its Head, by carrying the *Rule* from Things

Things to *Perſons*, and appealing from what is *right* to every Fool that is in the *wrong*. The Word *neceſſary* is miſerably applied; it diſordereth *Families*, and overturneth *Governments* by being ſo abuſed. Remember, that *Children* and *Fools* want every thing, becauſe they want Wit to diſtinguiſh; and therefore there is no ſtronger Evidence of a *Crazy Underſtanding*, than the making too large a Catalogue of Things neceſſary, when in truth there are ſo very few Things that have a right to be placed in it. Try every thing firſt in your *Judgment*, before you allow it a place in your *Deſire*; elſe your *Huſband* may think it as neceſſary for him to deny, as it is for you to *have* whatever is unreaſonable; and if you ſhall too often give him that Advantage, the Habit of *refuſing* may perhaps reach to Things that are not unfit for you.

There are unthinking *Ladies*, who do not enough conſider how little their own Figure agreeth with the *fine Things* they are ſo proud of. Others, when they have them, will hardly allow them to be *viſible*; they cannot be ſeen without *Light*, and that is many times ſo ſawcy and ſo prying, that, like a too forward *Gallant*, it is to be forbid the *Chamber*. Some, when you are uſhered into their *Dark Ruelle*, it is with ſuch Solemnity, that a Man would ſwear there was ſomething in it, till the *Unſkilful Lady* breaketh ſilence, and beginneth a Chat, which diſcovereth it is a Puppet-play with magnificent Scenes. Many eſteem things rather

rather as they are hard to be gotten, than that they are worth getting: This looketh as if they had an Intereſt to purſue that Maxim, becauſe a great Part of their own *Value* dependeth upon it. Truth, in theſe Caſes, would be often *unmannerly*, and might derogate from the *Prerogative* great *Ladies* would aſſume to themſelves, of being diſtinct Creatures from thoſe of their Sex which are inferior, and of leſs difficult Acceſs.

In other Things too, your Condition muſt give the Rule to you, and therefore it is not a Wife's Part to aim at more than a bounded *Liberality*; the farther Extent of that *Quality* (otherwiſe to be commended) belongeth to the *Huſband*, who hath better Means for it. *Generoſity* wrong placed, becometh a *Vice*. It is no more a *Virtue*, when it groweth into an *Inconvenience*: *Virtues* muſt be enlarged or reſtrained, according to differing Circumſtances. A *Princely Mind* will undo a *private Family*; therefore things muſt be ſuited, or elſe they will not deſerve to be commended, let them in themſelves be never ſo valuable: And the Expectations of the World are beſt anſwered, when we acquit our ſelves in that manner which ſeemeth to be preſcribed to our ſeveral Conditions, without uſurping upon thoſe Duties, which do not ſo particularly belong to us.

I will cloſe the Conſideration of this *Article* of *Expence*, with this ſhort Word: Do not *fetter* your ſelf with ſuch a *Reſtraint* in it, as

may

may make you *Remarkable*; but remember that *Virtue* is the greateſt *Ornament*, and good *Senſe* the *beſt Equipage*.

BEHAVIOUR and CONVERSATION.

IT is time now to lead you out of your *Houſe* into the *World*. A dangerous Step; where your Virtue alone will not ſecure you, except it is attended with a great deal of *Prudence*. You muſt have *both* for your *Guard*, and not ſtir without them. The Enemy is abroad, and you are ſure to be taken, if you are found ſtraggling. Your *Behaviour* is therefore to incline ſtrongly towards the *reſerved Part*: Your *Character* is to be immoveably fixed upon that Bottom, not excluding a Mixture of greater Freedom, as far as it may be innocent and well-timed. The *Extravagancies* of the Age have made *Caution* more neceſſary; and by the ſame Reaſon that the too great Licenſe of ill Men hath by Conſequence, in many things, reſtrained the lawful Liberty of thoſe who did not abuſe it, the unjuſtifiable Freedoms of ſome of your Sex have involved the reſt in the Penalty of being reduced. And though

though this cannot ſo alter the Nature of Things, as to make that *Criminal*, which in its ſelf is *Indifferent*; yet if it maketh it dangerous, that alone is ſufficient to juſtify the Reſtraint. A cloſe *Behaviour* is the fitteſt to receive Virtue for its conſtant *Gueſt*, becauſe there, and there only, it can be ſecure. Proper Reſerves are the Outworks, and muſt never be deſerted by thoſe who intend to keep the Place; they keep off the Poſſibilities not only of being *taken*, but of being *attempted*; and if a Woman ſeeth Danger, though at never ſo remote a Diſtance, ſhe is for that time to ſhorten her Line of Liberty. She who will allow her ſelf to go to the *utmoſt Extent* of every Thing that is *Lawful*, is ſo very near going farther, that thoſe who lie at watch will begin to count upon her.

Mankind, from the double Temptation of *Vanity* and *Deſire*, is apt to turn every thing a *Woman* doth to the hopeful Side; and there are few who dare make an impudent Application, till they diſcern ſomething which they are willing to take for an *Encouragement*. It is ſafer therefore to prevent ſuch *Forwardneſs*, than to go about to *cure* it. It gathereth Strength by the firſt Allowances, and claimeth a Right from having been at any time ſuffered with Impunity. Therefore nothing is with more care to be avoided, than ſuch a kind of *Civility* as may be miſtaken for *Invitation*; and it will not be enough for you to keep your ſelf free from any criminal Engagements; for

if

if you do that, which either raiſes Hopes or createth Diſcourſe, there is a Spot thrown upon your good Name, and thoſe kinds of Stains are the harder to be taken out, being dropped upon you by the *Man's Vanity*, as well as by the *Woman's Malice*.

Moſt Men are in one ſenſe *Platonick Lovers*, though they are not willing to own that *Character*. They are ſo far Philoſophers, as to allow that the greateſt part of Pleaſure lieth in the Mind; and in purſuance of that Maxim, there are few who do not place the Felicity more in the Opinion of the World, of their being *proſperous Lovers*, than in the *Bleſſing* it ſelf; how much ſoever they appear to value it. This being ſo, you muſt be very cautious not to gratify theſe Camelions at the price of bringing a *Cloud* upon your *Reputation*, which may be deeply wounded, tho' your *Conſcience* is unconcerned.

Your own Sex too will not fail to help the leaſt Appearance that giveth a Handle to be ill-turned. The beſt of them will not be diſpleaſed to improve their own Value, by laying others under a Diſadvantage, when there is a fair Occaſion given for it. It diſtinguiſheth them ſtill the more, their own *Credit* is more exalted, and, like a Picture ſet off with Shades, ſhineth more when a *Lady*, either leſs *innocent*, or leſs *Diſcreet* is ſet near, to make them appear ſo much the brighter. If theſe lend their Breath to blaſt ſuch as are ſo unwary as to give them this Advantage, you may be ſure there

there will be a ſtronger Gale from thoſe, who, beſides *Malice* or *Emulation*, have an *Intereſt* too, to ſtrike hard upon a Virtuous Woman. It ſeemeth to them, that their Load of Infamy is leſſened, by throwing part of it upon others; So that they will not only improve when it lieth in their way, but take pains to find out the leaſt Miſtake an Innocent Woman committeth, in Revenge of the Injury ſhe doth in leading a Life which is a Reproach to them. With theſe you muſt be extreme wary, and neither provoke them to be angry, nor invite them to be *Intimate*.

To the *Men* you are to have a *Behaviour* which may ſecure you, without offending them. No ill-bred affected *Shyneſs*, nor a *Roughneſs*, unſuitable to your *Sex*, and unneceſſary to your *Virtue*; but a way of Living that may prevent all coarſe Railleries or unmannerly Freedoms; Looks that forbid without *Rudeneſs*, and oblige without *Invitation*, or leaving room for the ſawcy Inferences Men's Vanity ſuggeſteth to them upon the leaſt Encouragements. This is ſo very nice, that it muſt engage you to have a perpetual *Watch* upon your *Eyes*, and to remember, that one careleſs *Glance* giveth more advantage than a *hundred Words*, not enough conſidered; the *Language* of the *Eyes* being very much the moſt ſignificant, and the moſt obſerved.

Your *Civility*, which is always to be preſerved, muſt not be carried to a *Compliance*, which may betray you into irrecoverable Miſtakes.

ſtakes. This *French* ambiguous word *Complaiſance* hath led your Sex into more Blame, than all other things put together. It carried them by Degrees into a certain Thing called a *good kind* of *Woman*, an eaſy *Idle Creature*, that doth neither *Good* nor *Ill* but by *chance*; hath no *Choice*, but leaveth that to the Company ſhe keepeth. Time, which by degrees addeth to the Signification of *Words*, hath made her, according to the Modern Style, little better than one who thinketh it a Rudeneſs to deny when civilly required, either her *Service* in Perſon, or her friendly *Aſſiſtance*, to thoſe who would have a Meeting, or want a Confident. She is a certain Thing always at Hand, an eaſy *Companion*, who hath ever great Compaſſion for *diſtreſſed Lovers*: She cenſureth nothing but *Rigor*, and is never without a Plaiſter for a wounded Reputation, in which chiefly lieth her Skill in Chirurgery; She ſeldom hath the Propriety of any particular *Gallant*, but liveth upon *Brokage*, and waiteth for the Scraps her Friends are content to leave her.

There is another *Character* not quite ſo *Criminal*, yet not leſs *Ridiculous*; which is that of a *good humour'd Woman*, one who thinketh ſhe muſt always be in a *Laugh*, or a broad *Smile*, becauſe *Good-humour* is an obliging Quality; thinketh it leſs ill Manners to talk *Impertinently*, than to be ſilent in Company. When ſuch a prating *Engine* rideth *Admiral*, and carrieth the *Lanthorn* in a *Circle of Fools*, a *chearful Coxcomb* coming in for a *Recruit*, the

the *Chattering* of *Monkeys* is a better Noiſe, than ſuch a *Concert of ſenſeleſs Merriment*. If ſhe is applauded in it, ſhe is ſo encouraged, that, like a Ballad-Singer, who if commended, breaketh his Lungs, ſhe letteth her ſelf looſe, and overfloweth upon the Company. She conceiveth that Mirth is to have no Intermiſſion, and therefore ſhe will carry it about with her, though it be to a *Funeral*; and if a Man ſhould put a familiar Queſtion, ſhe doth not know very well how to be angry, for then ſhe would be no more that pretty thing called a *good humour'd Woman*. This Neceſſity of appearing at all Times to be ſo infinitely pleaſed, is a grievous Miſtake; ſince in a handſome Woman that Invitation is unneceſſary; and in one who is not ſo, ridiculous. It is not intended by this, that you ſhould forſwear *Laughing*; but remember, that Fools being always painted in that Poſture, it may fright thoſe who are wiſe from doing it too frequently, and going too near a Copy which is ſo little inviting, and much more from doing it *loud*, which is an unnatural Sound, and looketh ſo much like another Sex, that few things are more offenſive. That *boiſterous* kind of *Jollity* is as contrary to *Wit* and good *Manners*, as it is to *Modeſty* and *Virtue*. Beſides, it is a courſe kind of Quality, that throweth a Woman into a lower Form, and degradeth her from the Rank of thoſe who are more refined. Some Ladies ſpeak *loud* and make a *Noiſe* to be the more minded, which looketh as if they beat their *Drums* for

Volunteers; and if by Misfortune none come in to them, they may, not without Reaſon, be a good deal out of Countenance.

There is one thing yet more to be avoided, which is the *Example* of thoſe who intend nothing farther than the Vanity of *Conqueſt*, and think themſelves ſecure of not having their Honour tainted by it. Some are apt to believe their *Virtue* is too obſcure, and not enough known, except it is expoſed to a *broader Light*, and ſet out to its beſt Advantage, by ſome publick Trials. Theſe are dangerous Experiments, and generally fail, being built upon ſo weak a Foundation, as that of a too great *Confidence* in our ſelves. It is as ſafe to play with *Fire*, as to dally with *Gallantry*. *Love* is a Paſſion that hath Friends in the Gariſon, and for that Reaſon muſt by a Woman be kept at ſuch a Diſtance, that ſhe may not be within the Danger of doing the moſt uſual Thing in the World, which is conſpiring againſt her Self: elſe the humble Gallant, who is only admitted as a Trophy, very often becometh the Conqueror; he putteth on the Style of Victory, and from an *Admirer* groweth into a *Maſter*, for ſo he may be called from the Moment he is in Poſſeſſion. The firſt Reſolutions of ſtopping at good Opinion and Eſteem, grow weaker by Degrees againſt the Charms of *Courtſhip* skilfully applied. A Lady is apt to think a Man ſpeaketh ſo much Reaſon whilſt he is *Commending* her, that ſhe hath much ado to believe him in the wrong, when he

he is making Love to her; And when beſides the natural Inducements your Sex hath to be merciful, ſhe is bribed by well choſen *Flattery*, the poor Creature is in Danger of being caught like a Bird liſtening to the Whiſtle of one that hath a Snare for it. *Conqueſt* is ſo tempting a Thing, that it often maketh Women miſtake Men's *Submiſſions*; which with all their fair Appearance, have generally leſs *Reſpect* than *Art* in them. You are to remember, that Men who ſay extreme fine Things, many times ſay them moſt for their own Sakes; and that the vain Gallant is often as well pleaſed with his own *Compliments*, as he could be with the kindeſt *Anſwer*. Where there is not that *Oſtentation* you are to ſuſpect there is *Deſign*. And as ſtrong Perfumes are ſeldom uſed but where they are neceſſary to ſmother an unwelcome Scent; ſo exceſſive good *Words* leave room to believe they are ſtrewed to cover ſomething, which is to gain Admittance under a Diſguiſe. You muſt therefore be upon your Guard, and conſider, that of the Two, *Reſpect* is more dangerous than *Anger*. It puts even the beſt Underſtandings out of their Place for the Time, till their ſecond Thoughts reſtore them; it ſtealeth upon us inſenſibly, throweth down our Defences, and maketh it too late to reſiſt, after we have given it that Advantage. Whereas railing goeth away in Sound; it hath ſo much Noiſe in it, that by giving Warning it beſpeaketh Caution. *Reſpect* is a ſlow and a ſure *Poiſon*, and like *Poiſon* ſwelleth us within

our ſelves: Where it prevaileth too much, it groweth to be a kind of Apoplexy in the Mind, turneth it quite round, and after it hath once ſeized the Underſtanding, becometh *mortal* to it. For theſe Reaſons, the ſafeſt way is to treat it like a ſly Enemy, and to be perpetually upon the Watch againſt it.

I will add one *Advice* to conclude this Head, which is, that you will let every ſeven Years make ſome Alteration in you towards the *Graver* Side, and not be like the *Girls* of Fifty, who reſolve to be always *Young*, whatever *Time* with his Iron Teeth hath determined to the contrary. Unnatural Things carry a *Deformity* in them never to be *Diſguiſed*; the Livelineſs of *Youth* in a riper Age, looketh like a new Patch upon an old Gown; ſo that a gay Matron, a chearful old Fool, may be reaſonably put into the Liſt of the Tamer Kind of *Monſters*. There is a certain Creature call'd a *Grave Hobby-Horſe*, a kind of a ſhe *Numps*, that pretendeth to be pulled to a Play, and muſt needs go to *Bartholomew-Fair*, to look after the young Folks, whom ſhe only ſeemeth to make her Care; in Reality ſhe taketh them for her Excuſe. Such an old *Butterfly* is of all *Creatures*, the moſt ridiculous, and the ſooneſt found out. It is good to be early in your Caution, to avoid any Thing that cometh within Diſtance of ſuch deſpicable Patterns, and not like ſome Ladies who defer their *Converſion*, till they have been ſo long in Poſſeſſion of being laughed at, that the World doth not know

know how to change their Style, even when they are reclaimed from that which gave the firſt Occaſion for it.

The Advantages of being *reſerved* are too many to be ſet down, I will only ſay, that it is a *Guard* to a *Good Woman*, and a *Diſguiſe* to an *ill one*. It is of ſo much uſe to both, that thoſe ought to uſe it as an Artifice, who refuſe to practiſe it as a Virtue.

FRIENDSHIPS.

I Muſt in a particular Manner recommend to you a ſtrict Care in the Choice of your *Friendſhips*. Perhaps the beſt are not without their *Objections*; but however, be ſure that yours may not ſtray from the Rules which the wiſer Part of the World hath ſet to them. The Leagues *Offenſive* and *Defenſive*, ſeldom hold in *Politicks*, and much leſs in *Friendſhips*. The violent Intimacies, when once broken, of which they ſcarce ever fail, make ſuch a *Noiſe*, the Bag of Secrets untied, they fly about like Birds let looſe from a Cage, and become the Entertainment of the Town. Beſides, theſe great *Dearneſſes* by degrees grow injurious to the reſt of your Acquaintance, and throws them off from you. There is ſuch an *Oppoſition*

Diſtinction when the *Dear Friend* cometh into the Room, that it is flinging Stones at the Company, who are not apt to forgive it.

Do not lay out your *Friendſhip* too laviſhly at firſt, ſince it will, like other Things, be ſo much the ſooner ſpent; neither let it be of too ſudden a Growth; for as the Plants which ſhoot up too faſt are not of that Continuance as thoſe which take more Time for it; ſo too ſwift a Progreſs in pouring out your Kindneſs, is a certain Sign that by the Courſe of Nature it will not be long-lived. You will be reſponſible to the World, if you pitch upon ſuch *Friends* as at the Time are under the Weight of any Criminal Objection. In that Caſe you will bring your ſelf under the Diſadvantages of their Character, and muſt bear your Part of it. *Chuſing* implieth *Approving*; and if you fix upon a *Lady* for your *Friend*, againſt whom the World ſhall have given Judgment, 'tis not ſo well natur'd as to believe you are altogether averſe to her Way of Living, ſince it doth not diſcourage you from Admitting her into your *Kindneſs*. And Reſemblance of Inclination being thought none of the leaſt Inducements to *Friendſhip*, you will be look'd upon at leaſt as a Well-wiſher if not a *Partner* with her In her Faults. If you can forgive them in another, it may be preſum'd, you will not be leſs gentle to your ſelf; and therefore you muſt not take it ill, if you are reckoned a *Complice*, and condemned to pay an equal Share with ſuch a Friend of ſo ill Reputation ſhe hath loſt.

If

If it happeneth that your *Friend* ſhould fall from the State of *Innocence* after your Kindneſs was engaged to her, you may be ſlow in your Belief in the Beginning of the Diſcovery; but as ſoon as you are convinced by a Rational Evidence, you muſt, without breaking too *roughly*, make a fair and a quick *Retreat* from ſuch a *Miſtaken Acquaintance*: Elſe by moving too ſlowly from one that is ſo tainted, the Contagion may reach you ſo far as to give you Part of the Scandal, though not of the Guilt. This Matter is ſo nice, that as you muſt not be too haſty to join in the Cenſure upon your *Friend* when ſhe is accuſed, ſo you are not, on the other Side, to defend her with too much Warmth; for if ſhe ſhould happen to deſerve the Report of *Common Fame*, beſides the Vexation that belongeth to ſuch a Miſtake, you will draw an ill Appearance upon your ſelf, and it will be thought you pleaded for her not without ſome Conſideration of your ſelf. The *Anger* which muſt be put on to vindicate the *Reputation* of an *injured Friend*, may incline the Company to ſuſpect you would not be ſo zealous, if there was not a Poſſibility that the Caſe might be your own. For this Reaſon you are not to carry your Dearneſs ſo far, as abſolutely to loſe your Sight where your Friend is concerned. Becauſe *Malice* is too quick-ſighted, it doth not follow that *Friendſhip* muſt be blind: There is to be a Mean between theſe two *Extremes*, elſe your Exceſs of good Nature may betray you into a very ridicu-

ſous Figure, and by Degrees you may be prefer'd to ſuch Offices as you will not be proud of. Your *Ignorance* may leſſen the Guilt, but will improve the Jeſt upon you, who ſhall be kindly ſollicitous to procure a Meeting, and innocently contribute to the *Ills* you would avoid: Whilſt the Contriving Lovers, when they are alone, ſhall make you the Subject of their Mirth, and perhaps (with Reſpect to the Goddeſs of *Love* be it ſpoken) it is not the worſt part of their Entertainment, at leaſt it is the moſt laſting, to laugh at the believing *Friend*, who was ſo eaſily deluded.

Let the good Senſe of your *Friends* be a chief Ingredient in your *Choice* of them; elſe let your *Reputation* be never ſo clear, it may be clouded by their *Impertinence*. It is like our Houſes being in the Power of a Drunken or a Careleſs Neighbour; only ſo much worſe, as that there will be no *Inſurance* here to make you amends, as there is in the Caſe of Fire.

To conclude this Paragraph; If *Formality* is to be allowed in any Inſtance, it is to be put on to reſiſt the Invaſion of ſuch forward Women as ſhall preſs themſelves into your *Friendſhip*, where if admitted, they will either be a *Snare* or an *Incumbrance*.

CENSURE.

I Will come next to the Conſideration, how you are to manage your *Cenſure*; in which both Care and Skill will be a good deal required. To diſtinguiſh is not only *natural* but *neceſſary*; and the Effect of it is, That we cannot avoid giving Judgment in our Minds, either to abſolve or to condemn, as the Caſe requireth. The Difficulty is, to know when and where it is fit to *proclaim the Sentence*. An Averſion to what is Criminal, a Contempt of what is ridiculous, are the inſeparable Companions of Underſtanding and Virtue; but the letting them go farther than our own *Thoughts*, hath ſo much Danger in it, that though it is neither poſſible nor fit to ſuppreſs them entirely, yet it is neceſſary they ſhould be kept under very great *Reſtraints*. An unlimited Liberty of this Kind, is little leſs than ſending an *Herald*, and proclaiming War to the World; which is an angry Beaſt when ſo provoked. The Conteſt will be unequal, though you are never ſo much in the right; and if you begin againſt ſuch an Adverſary, it will tear you in Pieces, with this Juſtification, That it is done in its own Defence. Your muſt

therefore take heed of *Laughing*, except in Company that is very ſure. It is throwing [illegible] Bullets; and it is the Diſadvantage of a Woman, that the Malice of the World will help the Brutality of thoſe who will throw a ſlovenly *Untruth* upon her. You are for this Reaſon to ſuppreſs your *Impatience* for Fools; who beſides that they are too ſtrong a Party to be unneceſſarily provoked, are of all others, the moſt dangerous in this Caſe. A *Bloodhead* in his Rage will return a dull *Jeſt* that will lie heavy, though there is not a *Grain* of *Wit* in it. Others will do it with more Art, and you muſt not think your ſelf ſecure, becauſe your *Reputation* may perhaps be out of the Reach of *Ill-will*; for if it findeth that Part *unarmed*, it will ſeek one which is more *expoſed*. It flieth, like a corrupt Humour, in the Body, to the weakeſt *Part*. If you have a tender *Side*, the World will be ſure to find it out, to put the worſt *Colour* upon all you ſay or do; give an *Aggravation* to every Thing that may leſſen you, and a *ſpiteful Turn* to every Thing that might recommend you. *Envy* layeth open thoſe Defects which *Friendſhip* would not ſee, and *Civility* might be willing to forget. *Malice* needeth no ſuch *Invitation* to encourage it, neither are any Pains more ſuperfluous than thoſe we take to be ill ſpoken of. If *Envy*, which never dieth, and ſeldom ſleepeth, is content ſometimes to be in a Slumber, it is very unskilful to make a noiſe to awake it.

Beſides, your Wit will be miſapplied if it is wholly directed to diſcern the *Faults* of others, when it is ſo neceſſary to be often uſed to mend and prevent your own. The ſending out Thoughts too much Abroad, hath the ſame Effect, as when a *Family* never ſtayeth at Home; *Neglect* and *Diſorder* naturally followeth; as it muſt do within our ſelves, if we do not frequently turn our Eyes inwards, to ſee what is amiſs with us; where it is a Sign we have an *unwelcome Proſpect*, when we do not care to *look* upon it, but rather ſeek our *Conſolations* in the Faults of thoſe we converſe with.

Avoid being the firſt in fixing a hard *Cenſure*; let it be confirmed by the *General Voice*, before you give into it: Neither are you then to give Sentence like a *Magiſtrate*, or as if you had a ſpecial *Authority* to beſtow a *good* or *ill Name* at your Diſcretion. Do not dwell too long upon a weak Side; touch and go away; take Pleaſure to ſtay longer where you can commend, like Bees that fix only upon thoſe Herbs out of which they may extract the Juice of which their Honey is compoſed. A *Virtue* ſtuck with *Briſtles* is too rough for this Age; it muſt be adorned with ſome *Flowers*, or elſe it will be unwillingly entertained; ſo that even where it may be fit to ſtrike, do it like a *Lady*, gently; and aſſure your ſelf, that where you care to do it, you will wound others more, and hurt your ſelf leſs, by ſoft Strokes, than by being harſh or violent.

The Triumph of *Wit* is to make your *good Nature* ſubdue your *Cenſure*, to be quick in *ſeeing Faults*, and ſlow in *expoſing* them. You are to conſider, that the inviſible Thing called a *good Name*, is made up of the Breath of Numbers that ſpeak well of you; ſo that if by a *diſobliging Word* you ſilence the meaneſt, the *Gale* will be leſs ſtrong which is to bear up your Eſteem. And though nothing is ſo vain as the eager purſuit of *empty Applauſe*, yet to be well thought of, and to be kindly uſed by the World, is like a Glory about a Woman's *Head*; 'tis a Perfume ſhe carrieth about with her, and leaveth where-ever ſhe goeth; 'tis a Charm againſt Ill-will. *Malice* may empty her Quiver, but cannot wound; the Dirt will not ſtick, the Jeſts will not take; without the Conſent of the World a *Scandal* doth not go deep; it is only a ſlight Stroke upon the injured Party, and returneth with the greater Force upon thoſe that gave it.

VANITY and AFFECTATION.

I Muſt with more than ordinary *Earneſtneſs* give you Caution againſt *Vanity*, it being the Fault to which your Sex ſeemeth to be the moſt

moſt *inclined*; and ſince *Affectation*, for the moſt part, attendeth it, I do not know how to divide them. I will not call them *Twins*, becauſe more properly *Vanity* is the *Mother*, and *Affectation* is the Darling *Daughter*; *Vanity* is the *Sin*, and *Affectation* is the *Puniſhment*; the firſt may be called the Root of *Self-Love*, the other the *Fruit*. *Vanity* is never at its full Growth, till it ſpreadeth into *Affectation*; and then it is compleat.

Not to dwell any longer upon the Definition of them, I will paſs to the Means and Motives to avoid them. In order to it, you are to conſider, that the World challengeth the Right of diſtributing Eſteem and Applauſe; ſo that where any aſſume, by their ſingle Authority, to be their own *Carvers*, it groweth angry, and never faileth to ſeek *Revenge*. And if we may meaſure a Fault by the Greatneſs of the *Penalty*, there are few of a higher Size than *Vanity*, as there is ſcarce a Puniſhment which can be heavier than that of being laughed at.

Vanity maketh a Woman tainted with it, ſo top full of her ſelf, that ſhe ſpilleth it upon the *Company*. And becauſe her own Thoughts are entirely employed in *Self-Contemplation*, ſhe endeavoureth, by a cruel Miſtake, to confine her *Acquaintance* to the ſame narrow Circle of that which only concerneth her Ladyſhip; forgetting that ſhe is not of half that *Importance* to the World, that ſhe is to her ſelf; ſo miſtaken ſhe is in her Value, by being her own Appraiſer: She will fetch ſuch a Com-

paſs

paſs in Diſcourſe to bring in her beloved *Self*, and rather than fail, her fine Petticoat, that there can hardly be a better Scene, than ſuch a Tryal of ridiculous Ingenuity. It is a Pleaſure to ſee her Angle for *Commendations*, and riſe ſo diſſatisfied with the Ill-bred *Company*, if they will not *bite*. To obſerve her throwing her *Eyes* about to fetch in Priſoners, and go about cruizing like a Privateer, and ſo out of *Countenance*, if ſhe return without *Booty*, is no ill Piece of Comedy. She is ſo eager to draw Reſpect, that ſhe always miſſeth it; yet thinketh it ſo much her due, that when ſhe faileth, ſhe groweth *waſpiſh*, not conſidering that it is impoſſible to commit a Rape upon the Will; that it muſt be fairly gained, and will not be taken by *Storm*; and that in this Caſe, the Tax ever riſeth higheſt by a *Benevolence*. If the World, inſtead of admiring her *Imaginary Excellencies*, taketh the Liberty to laugh at them, ſhe *appealeth* from it to her ſelf, for whom ſhe giveth *Sentence*, and proclaimeth it in all *Companies*. On the other ſide, if encouraged by a *civil Word*, ſhe is ſo obliging, that ſhe will give Thanks for being laughed at in good Language. She taketh a *Compliment* for a Demonſtration, and ſetteth it up as an *Evidence*, even againſt her Looking-Glaſs. But the good *Lady* being all this while in a moſt profound *Ignorance* of her ſelf, forgetteth that Men would not let her talk upon them, and throw ſo many ſenſleſs Words at their Heads, if they did not intend to put her

Perſon

Perſon to Fine and Ranſom for her Impertinence. Good Words of any other Lady, are ſo many Stones thrown at her; ſhe can by no means bear them; they make her ſo uneaſy, that ſhe cannot keep her *Seat*, but up ſhe riſeth, and goeth home half burſt with *Anger* and *Stroit Lacing*. If by great Chance ſhe ſaith any thing that hath Senſe in it, ſhe expecteth ſuch an exceſſive Rate of *Commendations*, that, to her thinking, the Company ever riſeth in her *Debt*. She looketh upon *Rules*, as Things made for the common People, and not for Perſons of her *Rank*; and this Opinion ſometimes tempteth her to extend her Prerogative to the Diſpenſing with the Commandments. If by great *Fortune* ſhe happeneth, in ſpite of her *Vanity*, to be honeſt, ſhe is ſo troubleſome with it, that, as far as in her lieth, ſhe maketh a *ſcurvy* Thing of it. Her bragging of her *Virtue*, looketh as if it coſt her ſo much Pains to get the better of her ſelf, that the Inferences are very ridiculous. Her *good Humour* is generally applied to the laughing at *good Senſe*. It would do one good, to ſee how heartily ſhe deſpiſeth any thing that is fit for her to do. The greateſt Part of her *Fancy* is laid out in chuſing her *Gown*, as her *Diſcretion* is chiefly employ'd in not *paying* for it. She is faithful to the *Faſhion*, to which not only her *Opinion*, but her *Senſes* are wholly reſigned: So obſequious ſhe is to it, that ſhe would be ready to be reconciled even to *Virtue* with all its *Faults*, if

if ſhe had her Dancing-Maſter's Word, that it was practis'd at Court.

To a Woman ſo compos'd, when *Affectation* cometh in to improve her *Character*, it is then raiſed to the higheſt Perfection. She firſt ſetteth up for a *fine Thing*, and for that Reaſon will diſtinguiſh her ſelf, right or wrong, in every thing ſhe doth. She would have it thought, that ſhe is made of ſo much the *finer Clay*, and ſo much more *ſifted* than ordinary, that ſhe hath no *common Earth* about her. To this end, ſhe muſt neither move nor ſpeak like other Women, becauſe it would be *vulgar*; and therefore muſt have a Language of her own, ſince ordinary *Engliſh* is too coarſe for her. The *Looking-Glaſs* in the Morning, dictateth to her all the *Motions* of the Day; which by how much the more *ſtudied*, are ſo much the more *miſtaken*. She cometh into a Room, as if her Limbs were ſet on with ill-made Screws, which maketh the Company fear the pretty Thing ſhould leave ſome of its *artificial Perſon* upon the Floor. She doth not like her ſelf as *God Almighty* made her, but will have ſome of her own Workmanſhip; which is ſo far from making her a better thing than a *Woman*, that it turneth her into a worſe Creature than a *Monkey*. She falleth out with *Nature*, againſt which ſhe maketh War without admitting a *Truce*, thoſe Moments excepted in which her *Gallant* may reconcile her to it. When ſhe hath a Mind to be *ſaſt* and *languiſhing*, there is ſomething ſo unnatu-

ral

ral in that *affected Eaſineſs*, that her *Frowns* could not be by many Degrees ſo forbidding. When ſhe would appear unreaſonably *humble*, one may ſee ſhe is ſo exceſſively *proud*, that there is no enduring it. There is ſuch an *impertinent Smile*, ſuch a *ſatisfied Simper*, when ſhe faintly diſowneth ſome fulſom Commendation a Man happeneth to beſtow upon her againſt his Conſcience, that her *Thanks* for it are more viſible under ſuch a thin *Diſguiſe*, than they could be if ſhe ſhould *print* them. If a *handſomer Woman* taketh any Liberty of *Dreſſing* out of the ordinary Rules, the miſtaken Lady followeth, without diſtinguiſhing the *unequal Pattern*, and maketh her ſelf uglier by an Example miſplaced; either forgetting the Privilege of *good Looks* in *another*, or preſuming, without ſufficient Reaſon, upon her *own*. Her *Diſcourſe* is a *ſenſeleſs Chime* of *empty Words*, a Heap of *Compliments* ſo equally applied to differing *Perſons*, that they are neither valu'd nor believ'd. Her *Eyes* keep pace with her *Tongue*, and are therefore always in *Motion*. One may diſcern that they generally incline to the *compaſſionate* Side; and that, notwithſtanding her Pretence to *Virtue*, ſhe is gentle to *diſtreſſed Lovers*, and *Ladies* that are *Merciful*. She will repeat the tender Part of a *Play* ſo feelingly, that the Company may gueſs, without Injuſtice, ſhe was not altogether a *diſintereſted Spectator*. She thinketh that *Paint* and *Sin* are concealed by railing at them. Upon the latter ſhe is leſs hard; and being divided

vided between the two oppoſite Prides of her *Beauty* and her *Virtue*, ſhe is often tempted to give broad Hints, that ſomebody is dying for her; and of the two, ſhe is leſs unwilling to let the World think ſhe may be ſometimes *prophan'd*, than that ſhe is never *worſhipped*.

Very great *Beauty* may perhaps ſo dazzle for a Time, that Men may not ſo clearly ſee the *Deformity* of theſe *Affectations*: But when the *Brightneſs* goeth off, and that the *Lover's Eyes* are by that means ſet at Liberty to ſee Things as they are, he will naturally return to his Senſes, and recover the Miſtake into which the Lady's *good Looks* had at firſt engaged him. And being once undeceived, ceaſeth to worſhip that as a *Goddeſs*, which he ſeeth is only an *artificial Shrine* moved by *Wheels* and *Springs* to delude him. Such Women pleaſe only like the *firſt Opening* of a *Scene*, that hath nothing to recommend it, but that of being *new*. They may be compared to *Flies*, that have pretty ſhining *Wings* for two or three hot Months, but the firſt cold Weather maketh an End of them; ſo the *latter Seaſon* of theſe *fluttering Creatures* is diſmal: From their neareſt Friends, they receive a very faint Reſpect; from the reſt of the World, the utmoſt Degree of Contempt.

Let this *Picture* ſupply the place of any other *Rules*, which might be given to prevent your *Reſemblance* to it. The *Deformity* of it, well conſidered, is *Inſtruction* enough; from the ſame Reaſon, that the Sight of a *Drunkard* is a bet-

a better *Sermon* againſt that *Vice*, than the beſt that was ever preach'd upon that *Subject*.

PRIDE.

AFter having ſaid this againſt *Vanity*, I do not intend to apply the ſame *Cenſure* to *Pride*, well placed, and rightly defined. It is an *ambiguous Word*; one Kind of it is as much a *Vertue*, as the other is a *Vice*: But we are naturally ſo apt to chuſe the *worſt*, that it is become dangerous to commend the *beſt* Side of it.

A Woman is not to be proud of her fine Gown; nor when ſhe hath leſs Wit than her Neighbours, to comfort her ſelf that ſhe hath more Lace. Some Ladies put ſo much weight upon *Ornaments*, that if one could ſee into their Hearts, it would be found, that even the Thought of *Death* is made leſs heavy to them, by the Contemplation of their being laid out in *State*, and *honourably* attended to the *Grave*. One may come a good deal ſhort of ſuch an *Extreme*, and yet ſtill be ſufficiently *Impertinent*, by ſetting a wrong Value upon Things, which ought to be uſed with more Indifference. A Lady muſt not appear ſolicitous to ingroſs

Reſpect

Reſpect to her ſelf, but be content with a reaſonable *Diſtribution*, and allow it to others, that ſhe may have it returned to her. She is not to be troubleſomly *nice*, nor diſtinguiſh her ſelf by being too *delicate*, as if ordinary things were too *coarſe* for her; this is an *unmannerly* and *offenſive* Pride, and where it is practiſed, deſerveth to be mortified; of which it ſeldom faileth. She is not to lean too much upon her Quality, much leſs to deſpiſe thoſe who are below it. Some make *Quality* an *Idol*, and then their *Reaſon* muſt fall down and worſhip it. They would have the World think, that no amends can ever be made for the Want of a *great Title*, or an ancient *Coat of Arms*: They imagine that with theſe *Advantages* they ſtand upon the higher Ground, which maketh them look down upon *Merit* and *Virtue*, as Things inferior to them. This Miſtake is not only *ſenſeleſs*, but *criminal* too, in putting a greater Price upon that which is a Piece of *good Luck*, than upon things which are valuable in themſelves. *Laughing* is not enough for ſuch a *Folly*; it muſt be ſeverely *whipped*, as it juſtly deſerves. It will be confeſſed, there are frequent *Temptations* given by *pert Upſtarts* to be angry, and by that to have our Judgments corrupted in theſe Caſes: But they are to be reſiſted; and the utmoſt that is to be allowed, is, when thoſe of a *New Edition* will forget themſelves, ſo as either to brag of their *weak Side*, or to endeavour to hide their *Meanneſs* by their *Inſolence*, to cure them by a little

little ſeaſonable *Raillery*, a little *Sharpneſs* well placed, without dwelling too long upon it.

Theſe and many other Kinds of *Pride* are to be avoided.

That which is to be recommended to you, is an *Emulation* to raiſe your ſelf to a *Character*, by which you may be diſtinguiſhed; an Eagerneſs for Precedence in *Virtue*, and all ſuch other things, as may gain you a greater Share of the good Opinion of the World. Eſteem to Virtue is like a cheriſhing Air to *Plants* and *Flowers*, which maketh them blow and proſper; and for that Reaſon it may be allowed to be, in ſome Degree, the *Cauſe* as well as the *Reward* of it. That *Pride* which leadeth to a good End cannot be a *Vice*, ſince it is the Beginning of a *Virtue*; and to be pleaſed with juſt *Applauſe*, is ſo far from a *Fault*, that it would be an ill *Symptom* in a Woman, who ſhould not place the greateſt Part of her *Satisfaction* in it. *Humility* is no doubt a great *Virtue*; but it ceaſes to be ſo, when it is afraid to ſcorn an ill Thing. Againſt *Vice* and *Folly*, it is becoming your *Sex* to be haughty; but you muſt not carry the *Contempt* of Things to *Arrogance* towards *Perſons*; and it muſt be done with fitting *Diſtinctions*, elſe it may be inconvenient by being unſeaſonable. A *Pride* that raiſeth a little *Anger* to be out-done in any thing that is good, will have ſo good an *Effect*, that it is very hard to allow it to be a Fault.

It

It is no eaſy Matter to carry even between theſe differing Kinds ſo deſcribed; but remember that it is ſafer for a *Woman* to be thought too *proud*, than too *familiar*.

DIVERSION.

THE laſt Thing I ſhall recommend to you, is a wiſe and a ſafe Method of uſing *Diverſions*. To be too eager in the Purſuit of Pleaſure whilſt you are *Young*, is dangerous; to catch at it in riper *Years*, is graſping a Shadow; it will not be held: Beſides that by being leſs natural, it groweth to be indecent. *Diverſions* are the moſt properly applied, to eaſe and relieve thoſe who are *oppreſſed*, by being too much employed. Thoſe that are *Idle* have no Need of them, and yet they, above all others, give themſelves up to them. To unbend our *Thoughts*, when they are too much ſtretched by our Cares, is not more natural than it is neceſſary; but to turn our whole Life into a *Holy-Day*, is not only ridiculous, but deſtroyeth Pleaſure inſtead of promoting it. The *Mind*, like the *Body*, is tired by being always in one Poſture: too ſerious breaketh, and too diverting looſeneth it: It is *Variety* that giveth the Reliſh;

liſh; ſo that *Diverſions* too frequently repeated, grow firſt to be indifferent, and at laſt tedious. Whilſt they are well choſen, and well timed, they are never to be blamed; but when they are uſed to an Exceſs, though very *Innocent* at firſt, they often grow to be *Criminal*, and never fail to be *Impertinent*.

Some Ladies are beſpoken for merry Meetings, as *Beſſus* was for Duels. They are engaged in a Circle of *Idleneſs*, where they turn round for the whole Year, without the *Interruption* of a ſerious Hour: They know all the Players Names, and are *intimately* acquainted with all the Booths in *Bartholomew-Fair*. No Soldier is more *Obedient* to the Sound of his Captain's *Trumpet*, than they are to that which ſummoneth them to a *Puppet-Play*, or a *Monſter*. The Spring that bringeth out *Flies* and *Fools*, maketh them Inhabitants in *Hide-Park*; in the Winter they are an Incumbrance to the *Play-Houſe*, and the Ballaſt of the *Drawing-Room*. The Streets all this while are ſo weary of theſe daily Faces, that *Men's Eyes* are over-laid with them. The *Sight* is glutted with fine Things, as the *Stomach* with ſweet ones; and when a fair *Lady* will give too much of her ſelf to the *World*, ſhe groweth luſcious, and oppreſſes inſtead of pleaſing. Theſe *Jolly Ladies* do ſo continually ſeek *Diverſion*, that in a little time they grow into a *Jeſt*; yet are unwilling to remember, that if they were ſeldomer ſeen, they would not be ſo often *laughed at*. Beſides, they make themſelves

ſelves *Cheap*, than which there cannot be an *unkinder Word* beſtowed upon your *Sex*.

To play ſometimes to entertain *Company*, or to *divert* your ſelf, is not to be diſallowed; but to do it ſo often as to be called a *Gameſter*, is to be avoided next to the Things that are moſt *Criminal*. It hath Conſequences of ſeveral Kinds not to be endured; it will engage you into a Habit of *Idleneſs* and ill *Hours*; draw you into ill mixed *Company*; make you neglect your *Civilities* abroad, and your *Buſineſs* at home; and impoſe into your *Acquaintance* ſuch as will do you no Credit.

To deep *Play*, there will be yet greater *Objections*. It will give Occaſion to the World to ask *ſpiteful Queſtions*: How you dare venture to *loſe*, and what Means you have to *pay* ſuch great *Sums*? If you pay *exactly*, it will be enquired from whence the *Money* cometh? If you owe, and eſpecially to a Man, you muſt be ſo very *civil* to him for his Forbearance, that it layeth a Ground of having it farther improved, if the Gentleman is ſo diſpoſed; who will be thought no unfair *Creditor*, if, where the *Eſtate* faileth, he ſeizeth upon the Perſon. Beſides, if a *Lady* could ſee her own Face upon an *ill Game*, at a deep Stake, ſhe would certainly forſwear any thing that could put her Looks under ſuch a Diſadvantage.

To *dance* ſometimes, will not be imputed to you as a Fault; but remember that the End of your learning it, was, that you might the better know how to move *gracefully*: It is only

an

an Advantage ſo far. When it goeth beyond it, one may call it excelling in a Miſtake, which is no very great Commendation. It is better for a *Woman* never to *Dance*, becauſe ſhe hath no Skill in it, than to do it too often, becauſe ſhe doth it well. The eaſieſt as well as the ſafeſt *Method* of doing it, is in private Companies, amongſt particular Friends, and then careleſly, like a Diverſion, rather than with Solemnity, as if it was a Buſineſs, or had any Thing in it to deſerve a *Month's Preparation* by ſerious Conference with a Dancing-Maſter.

Much more might be ſaid to all theſe Heads, and many more might be added to them. But I muſt reſtrain my Thoughts, which are full of my Dear Child, and would overflow into a Volume, which would not be fit for a *New-Years-Gift*. I will conclude with my warmeſt Wiſhes for all that is good to you. That you may live ſo as to be an Ornament to your Family, and a Pattern to your Sex: That you may be bleſſed with a Huſband that may value, and with Children that may inherit your Virtue; That you may ſhine in the World by a true Light, and ſilence Envy by deſerving to be eſteemed; That Wit and Virtue may both conſpire to make you a great Figure. When they are ſeparated, the firſt is ſo empty, and the other ſo faint, that they ſcarce have Right to be commended. May they therefore meet and never part; let them be your Guardian Angels, and be ſure never to ſtray out of the Di-

ſtance of their joint Protection. May you ſo raiſe your Character, that you may help to make the next Age a better Thing, and leave Poſterity in your Debt, for the Advantage it ſhall receive by your Example.

Let me conjure you, *My Dearest*, to comply with this kind Ambition of a Father, whoſe Thoughts are ſo engaged in your Behalf, that he reckoneth your Happineſs to be the greateſt Part of his own.

THE

THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER: HIS OPINION OF

I. The LAWS and GOVERNMENT.
II. PROTESTANT RELIGION.
III. The PAPISTS.
IV. FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Corrected and Amended.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year MDCCXVII.

THE PREFACE.

IT muſt be more than an ordinary Provocation that can tempt a Man to write in an Age over-run with Scribblers, as Egypt *was with Flies and Locuſts: That worſt Vermin of ſmall Authors has given the World ſuch a Surfeit, that inſtead of deſiring to Write, a Man would be more inclin'd to wiſh for his own Eaſe, that he could not Read. But there are ſome Things which do ſo raiſe our Paſſions, that our Reaſon can make no Reſiſtance; and when Madmen, in two Extremes, ſhall agree to make common Senſe Treaſon, and join to fix an ill Character upon the only Men in the Nation who deſerve a good one; I am no longer Maſter of my better Reſolution to let the World alone, and muſt break looſe from my more reaſonable Thoughts, to expoſe theſe falſe Coiners, who would make their Copper Wares paſs upon us for good Payment.*

Amongſt all the Engines of Diſſention, there has been none more powerful in all Times, than the fixing Names upon one another of Contumely and Reproach; and the Reaſon is plain, in reſpect of the People, who tho' generally they are uncapable of making a Syllogiſm, or forming an Argument, yet they can pronounce a Word; and that ſerves their Turn to throw it with their dull Malice at the Head of thoſe they do not like. Such Things ever begin in Jeſt, and end in Blood; and the ſame Word which at firſt makes the Company merry, grows in time to a Military Signal to cut one another's Throats.

Theſe Miſtakes are to be lamented, tho' not eaſily cured, being ſuitable enough to the corrupted Nature of Mankind; but 'tis hard, that Men will not only invent ill Names, but they will wreſt and miſinterpret good ones; ſo afraid ſome are even of a reconciling Sound, that they raiſe another Noiſe, to keep it from being heard, leſt it ſhould ſet up, and encourage a dangerous Sort of Men, who prefer Peace and Agreement, before Violence and Confuſion.

Were it not for this, why, after we have play'd the Fool with throwing Whig *and* Tory *at one another, as Boys do Snow-Balls, do we grow angry at a new Name, which by its true Signification might do as much to put us into our Wits, as the other has done to put us out of them?*

This

This innocent word Trimmer *ſignifies no more than this, That if Men are together in a Boat, and one Part of the Company would weigh it down on one Side, another would make it lean as much to the contrary; it happens there is a third Opinion of thoſe, who conceive it would do as well, if the Boat went even, without endangering the Paſſengers; now 'tis hard to imagine by what Figure in Language, or by what Rule in Senſe this comes to be a Fault, and it is much more a Wonder it ſhould be thought a Hereſy.*

But ſo it happens, that the poor Trimmer *has now all the Powder ſpent upon him alone, while the* Whig *is a forgotten, or at leaſt a neglected Enemy; there is no Danger now to the State (if ſome Men may be believed) but from the Beaſt called a* Trimmer; *take heed of him, he is the Inſtrument that muſt deſtroy Church and State; a new kind of Monſter, whoſe Deformity is ſo expos'd, that, were it a true Picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright Children, and make Women miſcarry at the Sight of it.*

But it may be worth the Examining, whether he is ſuch a Beaſt as he is painted. I am not of that Opinion; and am ſo far from thinking him an Infidel either in Church or State, that I am neither afraid to expoſe the Articles of his Faith, in Relation to Government; nor to ſay, that I prefer them before any other Political Creed, that either our angry Divines, or our refined Statesmen would impoſe upon us.

I have therefore, in the following Diſcourſe, endeavour'd to explain the Trimmer's *Principles and Opinions; and then leave it to all diſcerning and impartial Judges, whether he can with Juſtice be ſo Arraign'd, and whether thoſe who deliberately pervert a good Name, do not very juſtly deſerve the worſt that can be put upon themſelves.*

THE

THE TRIMMER'S OPINION OF THE LAWS AND GOVERNMENT.

OUR *Trimmer*, as he has a great Veneration for Laws in general, ſo he has more particularly for our own; he looks upon them as the Chains that tye up our unruly Paſſions, which elſe like wild Beaſts let looſe, would reduce the World into its firſt State of Barbariſm and Hoſtility; the good Things we enjoy, we owe to them; and all the ill Things we are freed from by their Protection.

God himſelf thought it not enough to be a Creator, without being a Lawgiver; and his Goodneſs had been defective towards Mankind in making them, if he had not preſcribed Rules to make them happy too.

All Laws flow from that of Nature; and where that is not the Foundation, they may be legally impos'd, but they will be lamely obey-ed: By this Nature, is not meant that which Fools and Madmen miſquote to juſtify their Exceſſes; it is innocent and uncorrupted Nature, that which diſpoſes Men to chuſe Virtue, without its being preſcribed, and which is ſo far from inſpiring ill Thoughts into us, that we take pains to ſuppreſs the good ones it infuſes.

The civilized World has ever paid a willing Subjection to Laws, even Conquerors have done Homage to them; as the *Romans*, who took Patterns of good Laws, even from thoſe they had ſubdued, and at the ſame Time, that they triumph'd over an enſlav'd People, the very Laws of that Place did not only remain ſafe, but became victorious; their new Maſters, inſtead of ſuppreſſing them, paid them more Reſpect than they had from thoſe who firſt made them; and by this wiſe Method they arrived to ſuch an admirable Conſtitution of Laws, that to this Day they reign by them. This Excellency of them triumphs ſtill, and the World pays now an Acknowledgment of their Obedience to that Mighty Empire, though ſo many Ages after it is diſſolved. And by a later Inſtance, the Kings of *France*, who in Practice

uſe their Laws pretty familiarly, yet think their Picture is drawn with moſt Advantage upon their Seals, when they are placed in the Seat of Juſtice: And tho' the Hieroglyphick is not there of ſo much uſe to the People as they would wiſh, yet it ſhews that no Prince is ſo Great, as not to think fit, for his own Credit at leaſt, to give an outward, when he refuſes a real Worſhip to the Laws.

They are to Mankind that which the Sun is to Plants, whilſt it cheriſhes and preſerves 'em. Where they have their Force, and are not clouded or ſuppreſs'd, every Thing ſmiles and flouriſhes; but where they are darkned, and not ſuffered to ſhine out, it makes every Thing to wither and decay.

They ſecure Men not only againſt one another, but againſt themſelves too; they are a Sanctuary, to which the Crown has Occaſion to reſort as often as the People; ſo that it is an Intereſt as well as a Duty to preſerve them.

There would be no end of making a Panegyrick of Laws; let it be enough to add, that without Laws the World would become a Wilderneſs, and Men little leſs than Beaſts. But with all this, the beſt things may come to be the worſt, if they are not in good Hands; and if it be true that the wiſeſt Men generally make the Laws, it is as true, that the ſtrongeſt do often interpret them: And as Rivers belong as much to the Channel where they run, as to the Spring from whence they firſt riſe; ſo the Laws depend as much upon the Pipes thro' which

which they are to paſs, as upon the Fountain from whence they flow.

The Authority of a King who is Head of the Law, as well as the Dignity of Publick Juſtice, is debaſed, when the clear Stream of the Law is puddled and diſturbed by Bunglers, or convey'd by unclean Inſtruments to the People.

Our *Trimmer* would have them appear in their full Luſtre, and would be grieved to ſee the Day, when, inſtead of Speaking with Authority from the Seats of Juſtice, they ſhould ſpeak out of a Grate with a lamenting Voice, like Priſoners that deſire to be reſcu'd.

He wiſhes that the Bench may have a Natural, as well as a Legal Superiority to the Bar; he thinks Men's Abilities very much miſplac'd, when the Reaſon of him that pleads, is viſibly too ſtrong for thoſe who judge and give Sentence.

When thoſe from the Bar ſeem to dictate to their Superiors upon the Bench, their Furs will look ſcurvily about them, and the Reſpect of the World will leave the bare Character of a Judge, to follow the Eſſential Knowledge of a Lawyer, who may be greater in himſelf than the other can be with all his Trappings.

An unconteſted Superiority in any Calling, will have the better of any diſtinct Name that Authority can put upon it; and therefore, if ever ſuch an unnatural Method ſhou'd be introduc'd, it is then that *Weſtminſter-Hall* might be ſaid to ſtand upon its Head; and though Ju-

Juſtice it ſelf can never be ſo, yet the Adminiſtration of it would be rendred ridiculous.

A Judge has ſuch Power lodg'd in him, that the King will never be thought to have choſen well, where the Voice of Mankind has not before-hand recommended the Man to his Station; when Men are made Judges of what they do not underſtand, the World cenſures ſuch a Choice, not out of ill Will to the Men, but Fear to themſelves.

If the King had the ſole Power of chuſing Phyſicians, Men would tremble to ſee Bunglers preferred; yet the Neceſſity of taking Phyſick from a Doctor, is generally not ſo great, as that of receiving Juſtice from a Judge: And yet the Inferences will be very ſevere in ſuch Caſes; for either it will be thought, that ſuch Men bought what they were not able to deſerve; or which is as bad, that Obedience ſhall be look'd upon as a better Qualification in a Judge, than Skill or Integrity. When ſuch Sacred Things as the Laws are not only touch'd, but guided by prophane Hands, Men will fear that out of the Tree of the Law, from whence we expect Shade and Shelter, ſuch Workmen will make Cudgels to beat us with; or rather, that they will turn the Canon upon our Properties, that were entruſted with them for their Defence.

To ſee the Laws mangled, diſguiſed, ſpeak quite another Language than their own; to ſee them thrown from the Dignity of protecting Mankind, to the diſgraceful Office of deſtroy-

ing

ing them; and notwithstanding their Innocence in themselves, to be made the worst Instruments that the most refined Villany can make use of, will raise Mens Anger above the Power of laying it down again, and tempt them to follow the evil Examples given them, of Judging without Hearing, when so provoked by their Desire of Revenge. Our *Trimmer* therefore, as he thinks the Laws are Jewels, so he believes they are no better set than in the Constitution of our *English* Government, if rightly understood, and carefully preserved.

It would be too great Partiality, to say they are perfect, or liable to no Objection: such Things are not of this World; but if they have more Excellencies and fewer Faults than any other we know, it is enough to recommend them to our Esteem.

The Dispute, which is a greater Beauty, a Monarchy or a Commonwealth, has lasted long between their contending Lovers; and they have behaved themselves so like Lovers, (who in good Manners must be out of their Wits, who used such Figures to exalt their own Idols on either Side, and such angry Aggravations to reproach one another in the Contest,) that Moderate Men have in all times smil'd upon this Eagerness, and thought it differ'd very little from a downright Frenzy. We in *England*, by a happy Use of the Controversy, conclude them both in the Wrong, and reject them from being our Pattern, not taking their Words in the utmost Extent, which is a thing,

thing, that Monarchy leaves Men no Liberty, and a Commonwealth such a one as allows them no Quiet.

We think that a wise Mean between these barbarous Extremes, is that which Self-Preservation ought to dictate to our Wishes; and we may say we have attained to this Mean in a greater Measure than any Nation now in Being, or perhaps any we have read of, tho' never so much Celebrated for the Wisdom or Felicity of their Constitutions: We take from one the too great Power of doing Hurt, and yet leave enough to govern and protect us; we take from the other the Confusion, the Parity, the Animosities and the License, and yet reserve a due Care of such a Liberty, as may consist with Mens Allegiance. But it being hard, if not impossible, to be exactly even, our Government has much the stronger Biass towards Monarchy; which by the general Consent and Practice of Mankind, seems to have the Advantage in Dispute against a Commonwealth. The Rules of a Commonwealth are too hard for the Bulk of Mankind to come up to: That Form of Government requires such a Spirit to carry it on, as does not dwell in great Numbers; but is restrain'd to so very few, especially in this Age, that let the Methods appear never so much reasonable in Paper, they must fail in Practice; which will ever be suited more to Mens Nature as it is, than as it shou'd be.

Monar-

Monarchy is lik'd by the People for the Bells and the Tinſel, the outward Pomp and Gilding; and there muſt be Milk for Babes, ſince the greateſt Part of Mankind are, and ever will be included in that Liſt: And it is approv'd by wiſe and thinking Men (all Circumſtances and Objections impartially conſider'd) that it has ſo great an Advantage above all other Forms, when the Adminiſtration of that Power falls in good Hands, that all other Governments look out of Countenance, when they are ſet in Competition with it. *Lycurgus* might have ſav'd himſelf the Trouble of making Laws, if either he had been Immortal, or that he could have ſecur'd to Poſterity a ſucceeding Race of Princes like himſelf; his own Example was a better Law than he could with all his Skill tell how to make. Such a Prince is a Living Law, that dictates to his Subjects, whoſe Thoughts, in that Caſe, never riſe above their Obedience; the Confidence they have in the Virtue and Knowledge of the Maſter, preventing the Scruples and Apprehenſions to which Men are naturally inclin'd, in Relation to thoſe that govern them. Such a Magiſtrate is the Life and Soul of Juſtice; whereas the Law is but a Body, and a Dead one too, without his Influence to give it Warmth and Vigor; and by the irreſiſtible Power of his Virtue, he does ſo reconcile Dominion and Allegiance, that all Diſputes between them are ſilenced and ſubdued: And indeed no Monarchy can be perfect and abſolute without

without Exception, but where the Prince is Superior by his Virtue, as well as by his Character and his Power: So that to screw out Precedents and Unlimited Power, is a plain Diminution to a Prince that Nature has made Great, and who had better make himself a Glorious Example to Posterity, than borrow an Authority from dark Records raised out of the Grave; which, besides their Non-usage, have always in them Matter of Controversy and Debate: And it may be affirmed, that the Instances are very rare, of Princes having the worst in the Dispute with their People, if they were Eminent for Justice in Time of Peace, or Conduct in Time of War: Such Advantage the Crown giveth to those, who adorn it by their own Personal Virtues.

But since, for the greater Honour of Good and Wise Princes, and the better to set off their Character by the Comparison, Heaven has decreed there must be a Mixture; and that such as are perverse and insufficient, or at least both, are perhaps to have their equal Turns in the Government of the World; and besides that the Will of Man is so various, and so unbounded a Thing, and so fatal too when joined with Power misapplied; it is no wonder, if those who are to be govern'd, are unwilling to have so dangerous, as well as so uncertain a Standard of their Obedience.

There must be therefore Rules and Laws; for want of which, or at least the Observation of them, it was as Capital for a Man to say,

that

that *Nero* did not play well upon the Lute, as to commit Treaſon, or blaſpheme the Gods. And even *Veſpaſian* himſelf had like to have loſt his Life, for ſleeping whilſt he ſhould have attended and admir'd that Emperor's Impertinence upon the Stage. There is a Wantonneſs in great Power, that Men are generally too apt to be corrupted with; and for that Reaſon, a Wiſe Prince, to prevent the Temptation ariſing from common Frailty, would chuſe to govern by Rules for his own Sake, as well as for his Peoples; ſince it only ſecures him from Errors, and does not leſſen the real Authority that a good Magiſtrate would care to be poſſeſſed of; for if the Will of a Prince is contrary either to Reaſon it ſelf, or to the univerſal Opinion of his Subjects, the Law, by a kind Reſtraint, refuſes him from a Diſeaſe that would undo him: If his Will, on the other Side, is reaſonable or well directed, that Will immediately becomes a Law, and he is arbitrary by an eaſy and natural Conſequence, without taking Pains, or overturning the World for it.

If Princes conſider Laws as Things impos'd on them, they have the Appearance of Fetters of Iron; but to ſuch as would make them their Choice, as well as their Practice, they are Chains of Gold; and in that Reſpect are Ornaments, as in others they are a Defence to them; and by a Compariſon, not improper for God's Vicegerents upon Earth: As our Maker never commands our Obedience to any thing that,

that, as reasonable Creatures, we ought not to make our own Election; so a Good and Wise Governor, tho' all Laws were abolish'd, would, by the voluntary Direction of his own Reason, do, without Restraint, the very same Things that they would have enjoined.

Our *Trimmer* thinks that the King and Kingdom ought to be one Creature, not to be separated in their Political Capacity; and when either of them undertake to act a-part, it is like the Crawling of Worms after they are cut in Pieces; which cannot be a lasting Motion, the whole Creature not stirring at a time. If the Body has a Dead Palsy, the Head cannot make it move; and God hath not yet delegated such a Healing Power to Princes, as that they can in a Moment say to a Languishing People, oppress'd and in Despair, Take up your Beds, and walk.

The Figure of a King is so Comprehensive and Exalted a Thing, that it is a Kind of degrading him, to lodge that Power separately in his own Natural Person, which can never be safely or naturally Great, but where the People are so united to him, as to be Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone: For when he is reduc'd to the single Definition of a Man, he sinks into so low a Character, that it is a Temptation upon Mens Allegiance, and an impairing that Veneration which is necessary to preserve their Duty to him. Whereas a Prince who is so joined to his People, that they seem to be his Limbs, rather than his Subjects; cloathed with

with Mercy and Juſtice rightly apply'd in their ſeveral Places; his Throne ſupported by Love, as well as by Power; and the warm Wiſhes of his devoted Subjects, like never-failing Incenſe, ſtill aſcending towards him, looks ſo like the beſt Image we can frame to our ſelves of God Almighty, that Men would have much ado not to fall down and worſhip him: and would be much more tempted to the Sin of Idolatry, than to that of Diſobedience.

Our *Trimmer* is of Opinion, That there muſt be ſo much Dignity inſeparably annexed to the Royal Function, as may be ſufficient to ſecure it from Inſolence and Contempt; and there muſt be Condeſcenſions from the Throne, like kind Showers from Heaven, that the Prince may look ſo much the more like God Almighty's Deputy upon Earth: For Power without Love, hath a terrifying Aſpect; and the Worſhip which is paid to it, is like that which the *Indians* give out of Fear to wild Beaſts and Devils. He that fears God only becauſe there is an Hell, muſt wiſh there were no God; and he who fears the King only becauſe he can puniſh, muſt wiſh there were no King: So that without a Principle of Love, there can be no true Allegiance; and there muſt remain perpetual Seeds of Reſiſtance againſt a Power that is built upon ſuch an unnatural Foundation, as that of Fear and Terror. All Force is a Kind of foul Play; and whoſoever aims at it himſelf, does by Implication allow it to thoſe he plays with; ſo that there will be ever Mat-

ter

ter prepared in the Minds of People, when they are provoked; and the Prince, to ſecure himſelf, muſt live in the midſt of his own Subjects, as if he were in a Conquer'd Country; raiſe Arms, as if he were immediately to meet or reſiſt an Invaſion; and all this while ſleep as unquietly, from Fear of the Remedies, as he did before from that of the Diſeaſe; it being hard for him to forget, that more Princes have been deſtroy'd by their Guards, than by their People; and that even at the time when the Rule was, *Quod Principi placuit Lex eſto*; the Armies and *Prætorian* Bands, which were the Inſtruments of that unruly Power, were frequently the Means made uſe of to deſtroy them who had it. There will ever be this Difference between God and his Vicegerents, That God is ſtill above the Inſtruments he uſes, and out of the Danger of receiving Hurt from them; but Princes can never lodge Power in any Hands, which may not at ſome time turn it back upon them. For tho' it is poſſible enough for a King to have Power to ſatisfy his Ambition; yet no Kingdom has Money enough to ſatisfy the Avarice of Under-workmen; who learn from that Prince who will exact more than belongs to him, to expect from him much more than they deſerve; and growing angry upon the firſt Diſappointment, they are the Devils which grow terrible to the Conjurers themſelves who brought them up, and can't ſend them down again: And beſides that, there can be no laſting Radical Security, but where

where the Governed are ſatisfied with the Governors. It muſt be a Dominion very unpleaſant to a Prince of an elevated Mind, to impoſe an abject and ſordid Servility, inſtead of receiving the willing Sacrifice of Duty and Obedience. The braveſt Princes, in all Times, who were uncapable of any other Kind of Fear, have fear'd to grieve their own People: Such a Fear is a Glory, and in this Senſe 'tis an Infamy not to be a Coward. So that the miſtaken Heroes, who are void of this generous Kind of Fear, need no other Aggravation to compleat their ill Characters.

When a deſpotick Prince has bruiſed all his Subjects with a ſlaviſh Obedience, all the Force he can uſe cannot ſubdue his own Fears; Enemies of his own Creation, to which he can never be reconcil'd; it being impoſſible to do Injuſtice, and not to fear Revenge; there is no Cure for this Fear, but the not deſerving to be hurt; and therefore a Prince who does not allow his Thoughts to ſtray beyond the Rules of Juſtice, has always the Bleſſing of an inward Quiet and Aſſurance, as a natural Effect of his good Meaning to his People; and tho' he will not neglect due Precautions to ſecure himſelf in all Events, yet he is uncapable of entertaining vain and remote Suſpicions of thoſe, of whom he reſolves never to deſerve ill.

It is very hard for a Prince to fear Rebellion, who neither does, nor intends to do any thing to provoke it; therefore too great a Diligence in the Governors to raiſe and improve Dan-

Dangers and Fears from the People, is no very good Symptom, and naturally begets an Inference, that they have Thoughts of putting their Subjects Allegiance to a Tryal; and therefore, not without ſome Reaſon, fear beforehand, that the Irregularities they intend, may raiſe Men to a Reſiſtance.

Our *Trimmer* thinks it no Advantage to a Government, to endeavour the ſuppreſſing of all Kind of Right, which may remain in the Body of the People; or to employ ſmall Authors in it, whoſe Officiouſneſs or Want of Money may encourage them to write, tho' it is very uneaſy to have Abilities equal to ſuch a Subject: They forget that in their too high ſtrain'd Arguments for the Rights of Princes, they very often plead againſt Human Nature, which will always give a Biaſs to thoſe Reaſons which ſeem of her Side. It is the People that read thoſe Books, and it is the People that muſt judge of them; and therefore no Maxims ſhould be laid down for the Right of Government, to which there can be any reaſonable Objection; for the World has an Intereſt, and for that Reaſon is more than ordinary diſcerning to find out the weak Sides of ſuch Arguments, as are intended to do them Hurt: And it is a Diminution to a Government to promote or countenance ſuch well affected Miſtakes, which are turned upon it with Diſadvantage, whenever they are detected and expos'd; and naturally the too earneſt Endeavours to take from Men the Right they have, tempt them,

them, by the Example, to claim that which they have not.

In Power, as in moſt other Things, the Way for Princes to keep it, is not to graſp more than their Arms can well hold; the nice and unneceſſary enquiring into theſe Things, or the Licenſing ſome Books, and ſuppreſſing ſome others, without ſufficient Reaſon to juſtify the doing either, is ſo far from being an Advantage to a Government, that it expoſes it to the Cenſure of being partial, and to the Suſpicion of having ſome hidden Deſigns to be carried on by theſe unuſual Methods.

When all is ſaid, there is a natural Reaſon of State, an undefinable Thing, grounded upon the common Good of Mankind, which is Immortal, and in all Changes and Revolutions ſtill preſerves its Original Right of ſaving a Nation, when the Letter of the Law perhaps would deſtroy it; and by whatſoever Means it moves, carrieth a Power with it that admits of no Oppoſition, being ſupported by Nature, which inſpires an immediate Conſent at ſome critical Times into every individual Member, to that which viſibly tendeth to the Preſervation of the Whole; and this being ſo, a Wiſe Prince, inſtead of controverting the Right of this Reaſon of State, will, by all means, endeavour it may be of his Side; and then he will be ſecure.

Our *Trimmer* cannot conceive that the Power of any Prince can be laſting, but where 'tis built upon the Foundation of his own unborrowed

borrowed Virtue; he muſt not only be the firſt Mover and the Fountain from whence the great Acts of State originally flow, but he muſt be thought ſo to his People, that they may preſerve their Veneration for him; he muſt be jealous of his Power, and not impart ſo much of it to any about him, as that he may ſuffer an Eclipſe by it.

He cannot take too much Care to keep himſelf up; for when a Prince is thought to be led by thoſe, with whom he ſhould only adviſe, and that the Commands he gives are tranſmitted through him, and are not of his own Growth; the World will look upon him as a Bird adorned with Feathers that are not his own, or conſider him rather as an Engine than a living Creature: Beſides, 'twould be a Contradiction for a Prince to fear a Commonwealth, and at the ſame Time create one himſelf, by delegating ſuch a Power to any Number of Men near him, as is inconſiſtent with the Figure of a Monarch. It is the worſt kind of Co-ordination the Crown can ſubmit to; for it is the Exerciſe of Power that draws the Reſpect along with it; and when that is parted with, the bare Character of a King is not ſufficient to keep it up; but though it is a Diminution to a Prince, to parcel out ſo liberally his Power amongſt his Favourites, it's worſe to divide with any other Man, and to bring himſelf in Competition with a ſingle Rival: A Partner in Government is ſo unnatural a Thing, that it is a ſquint-ey'd Allegiance that muſt be paid to ſuch a double

bottom'd Monarchy. The two Czars of *Muſcovy* are an Example, that the more civiliz'd Part of the World will not be proud to follow, whatſoever Gloſs may be put upon this Method by thoſe to whom it may be of ſome uſe; the Prince will do well to remember, and reflect upon the Story of certain Men who had ſet up a Statue in Honour of the Sun, yet in a very little Time they turned their Backs to the Sun, and their Faces to the Statue.

Theſe myſtical Unions are better plac'd in the other World, than they are in this; and we ſhall have much a-do to find, that in a Monarchy God's Vicegerency is delegated to more Heads than that which is anointed.

Princes may lend ſome of their Light to make another ſhine, but they muſt ſtill preſerve the Superiority of being the brighter Planet; and when it happens that the Reverſion is in Men's Eyes, there is more Care neceſſary to keep up the Dignity of Poſſeſſions, that Men may not forget who is King, either out of their Hopes or Fears who ſhall be. If the Sun ſhou'd part with all his Light to any of the Stars, the *Indians* would not know where to find their God, after he had ſo diſpos'd himſelf, and would make the Light (where-ever it went) the Object of their Worſhip.

All Uſurpation is alike upon Sovereignty, its no matter from what Hand it comes; and crowned Heads are to be the more circumſpect, in reſpect Men's Thoughts are naturally apt to amble beyond what is preſent, they love to work

work at a Diſtance; and in their greedy Expectations, which their Minds may be fill'd with, of a new Maſter, the old one may be left to look a little out of Countenance.

Our *Trimmer* owns a Paſſion for Liberty, yet ſo reſtrained, that it does not in the leaſt impair or taint his Allegiance; he thinks it hard for a Soul that does not love Liberty, ever to raiſe its ſelf to another World; he takes it to be the Foundation of all Virtue, and the only Seaſoning that gives a Reliſh to Life; and tho' the Lazineſs of a ſlaviſh Subjection has its Charms for the more groſs and earthy Part of Mankind, yet to Men made of a better Sort of Clay, all that the World can give without Liberty has no taſte: It is true, nothing is ſold ſo cheap by unthinking Men; but that does not more leſſen the real Value of it, than a Country Fellow's Ignorance does that of a Diamond, in ſelling it for a Pot of Ale. Liberty is the Miſtreſs of Mankind, ſhe has powerful Charms which do ſo dazzle us, that we find Beauties in her which perhaps are not there, as we do in other Miſtreſſes; yet if ſhe was not a Beauty, the World would not run mad for her; therefore ſince the reaſonable Deſire of it ought not to be reſtrain'd, and that even the unreaſonable Deſire of it cannot be entirely ſuppreſs'd, thoſe who would take it away from a People poſſeſs'd of it, are likely to fail in the attempting, or be very unquiet in the keeping of it.

weaken or maim the Conſtitution: and the whole Frame, inſtead of being torn or diſjointed, comes to be the better and cloſer knit by being thus exerciſed: But whatever Faults our Government may have, or a diſcerning Critick may find in it, when he looks upon it alone; let any other be ſet againſt it, and then it ſhews its Comparative Beauty: Let us look upon the moſt glittering Out-ſide of unbounded Authority, and upon a nearer Enquiry, we ſhall find nothing but poor and miſerable Deformity within; let us imagine a Prince living in his Kingdom, as if in a great Galley, his Subjects tugging at the Oar, laden with Chains, and reduced to real Rags, that they may gain him imaginary Lawrels; let us repreſent him gazing among his Flatterers, and receiving their falſe Worſhip; like a Child never Contradicted, and therefore always cozen'd; or like a Lady complimented only to be abuſed; condemned never to hear Truth, and conſequently never to do Juſtice, wallowing in the ſoft Bed of wanton and unbridled Greatneſs; nor leſs odious to the Inſtruments themſelves, than to the Objects of his Tyranny; blown up into an ambitious Dropſy, never to be ſatisfied by the Conqueſt of other People, or by the Oppreſſion of his own: By aiming to be more than a Man, he falls lower than the meaneſt of 'em; a miſtaken Creature ſwelled with Panegyricks, and flattered out of his Senſes, and not only an Incumbrance, but a Nuiſance to Mankind; a hardened and unrelenting Soul, and like ſome

Creatures that grow Fat with Poiſons, he grows great by other Men's Miſeries; an ambitious Ape of the Divine Greatneſs; an unruly Giant that would ſtorm even Heaven it ſelf, but that his ſcaling Ladders are not long enough; in ſhort, a wild and devouring Creature in rich Trappings, and with all his Pride, no more than a Whip in God Almighty's Hand, to be thrown into the Fire when the World has been ſufficiently ſcourged with it. This Picture laid in right Colours would not incite Men to wiſh for ſuch a Government, but rather to acknowledge the Happineſs of our own, under which we enjoy all the Privileges reaſonable Men can deſire, and avoid all the Miſeries many others are Subject to; ſo that our *Trimmer* would keep it with all its Faults; and does as little forgive thoſe who give the Occaſion of breaking it, as he does thoſe that take it.

Our *Trimmer* is a Friend to Parliaments, notwithſtanding all their Faults and Exceſſes, which of late have given ſuch Matter of Objection to them; he thinks that though they may at ſometimes be troubleſome to Authority, yet they add the greateſt Strength to it under a wiſe Adminiſtration; he believes no Government is perfect except a kind of Omnipotence reſide in it, to exerciſe upon great Occaſions: Now this cannot be obtained by Force alone upon People, let it be never ſo great; there muſt be their Conſent too, or elſe a Nation moves only by being driven, a ſluggiſh and conſtrained Motion, void of that Life and Vi-

gour which is neceſſary to produce great Things; whereas the virtual Conſent of the whole being included in their Repreſentatives; and the King giving the Sanction to the united Senſe of the People, every Act done by ſuch an Authority, ſeems to be an Effect of their Choice, as well as a Part of their Duty; and they do with an Eagerneſs, of which Men are uncapable whilſt under a Force, execute whatſoever is ſo enjoined, as their own Wills better explained by Parliament, rather than from the Terror of incurring the Penalty of the Law for omitting it; and by means of this Political Omnipotence, whatever Sap or Juice there is in a Nation, may be to the laſt Drop prodduc'd, whilſt it riſes naturally from the Root: Whereas all Power exerciſed without Conſent, is like the giving Wounds and Gaſhes, and tapping a Tree at unſeaſonable Times, for the preſent Occaſion, which in a very little Time muſt needs deſtroy it.

Our *Trimmer* believes, that by the Advantage of our Situation there can hardly any ſuch ſudden Diſeaſe come upon us, but that the King may have Time enough left to conſult with his Phyſicians in Parliament; Pretences indeed may be made, but a real Neceſſity ſo preſſing, that no Delay is to be admitted, is hardly to be imagin'd: And it will be neither eaſy to give an Inſtance of any ſuch Thing for the Time paſt, or reaſonable to preſume it will ever happen for the Time to come: But if that ſtrange Thing

ſhould

should fall out, our *Trimmer* is not so freight-laced, as to let a Nation die or be stifled, rather than it should be help'd by any but the proper Officers. The Cases themselves will bring the Remedies along with them; and he is not afraid to allow, That in order to its Preservation, there is a hidden Power in Government, which would be lost if it was designed; a certain Mystery, by virtue of which a Nation may at some critical Times be secur'd from Ruin; but then it must be kept as a Mystery: It is rendred useless when touch'd by unskilful Hands. And no Government ever had, or deserv'd to have that Power, which was so unwary as to anticipate their Claim to it. Our *Trimmer* cannot help thinking it had been better, if the Triennial Act had been observ'd, because 'tis the Law; and he would not have the Crown, by such an Example teach the Nation to break it: All Irregularity is catching; it has a Contagion in it, especially in an Age so much inclin'd to follow ill Patterns than good ones.

He would have a Parliament, because 'tis an essential Part of the Constitution, even without the Law, it being the only Provision in extraordinary Cases, in which there would be otherwise no Remedy; and there can be no greater Solecism in Government, than a Failure of Justice.

He would have had one, because nothing else can unite and heal us; all other Means are meer Shifts and Projects, Houses of Cards, to

be blown down with the leaſt Breath, and cannot reſiſt the Difficulties which are ever preſum'd in Things of this Kind; and he would have had one, becauſe it might have done the King good, and could not poſſibly have done him hurt without his Conſent, which in that Caſe is not to be ſuppoſed; and therefore for him to fear it, is ſo ſtrange and ſo little to be comprehended, that the Reaſons can never be preſum'd to grow in our Soil, or to thrive in it, when tranſplanted from any other Countrey; and no doubt there are ſuch irreſiſtible Arguments for calling a Parliament, and tho' it might be deny'd to the unmannerly mutinous Petitions of Men, that are malicious and diſaffected, it will be granted to the ſoft and obſequious Murmurs of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects; and there will be ſuch Rhetorick in their ſilent Grief, that it will at laſt prevail againſt the Artifices of thoſe, who either out of Guilt or Intereſt, are afraid to throw themſelves upon their Countrey, knowing how ſcurvily they have uſed it; that Day of Judgment will come, tho' we know neither the Day nor the Hour. And our *Trimmer* would live ſo as to be prepared for it; with full Aſſurance in the mean Time, that the lamenting Voice of a Nation cannot long be reſiſted, and that a Prince who could ſo eaſily forgive his People when they had been in the wrong, cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

The

The TRIMMER's *Opinion concerning the Proteſtant Religion.*

REligion has ſuch a Superiority above other Things, and that indiſpenſable Influence upon all Mankind, that it is as neceſſary to our living happy in this World, as it is to our being ſav'd in the next: Without it Man is an abandon'd Creature, one of the worſt Beaſts Nature hath produc'd, and fit only for the Society of Wolves and Bears: Therefore in all Ages it has been the Foundation of Government. And though falſe Gods have been impos'd upon the credulous Part of the World, yet they were Gods ſtill in their own Opinion; and the Awe and Reverence Men had to them and their Oracles, kept them within Bounds towards one another, which the Laws with all their Authority could never have effected, without the Help of Religion: The Laws would not be able to ſubdue the Perverſeneſs of Men's Wills, which are wild Beaſts, and require a double Chain to keep them down. For this Reaſon 'tis ſaid, That it is not a ſufficient Ground to make War upon a Neighbouring State, becauſe they are of another Religion,

let

let it be never ſo differing; yet if they worſhipp'd, nor acknowledg'd any Deity at all, they may be invaded as publick Enemies of Mankind, becauſe they reject the only Thing that can bind them to live well with one another. The Conſideration of Religion is ſo twiſted with that of Government, that it is never to be ſeparated; and tho' the Foundations of it ought to be eternal and Unchangeable, yet the Terms and Circumſtances of Diſcipline, are to be ſuited to the ſeveral Climates and Conſtitutions, ſo that they may keep Men in a willing Acquieſcence unto them, without diſcompoſing the World by nice Diſputes, which can never be of equal Moment with the publick Peace.

Our Religion here in *England* ſeems to be diſtinguiſh'd by a peculiar Effect of God Almighty's Goodneſs, in permitting it to be introduc'd, or rather reſtor'd, by a more regular Method, than the Circumſtances of moſt other Reformed Churches would allow them to do, in relation to the Government: And the Dignity with which it has ſupported it ſelf ſince, and the great Men our Church has produced, ought to recommend it to the Eſteem of all Proteſtants at leaſt: Our *Trimmer* is very partial to it, for theſe Reaſons, and many more; and deſires that it may preſerve its due Juriſdiction and Authority; ſo far is he from wiſhing it oppreſſed, by the unreaſonable and malicious Cavils of thoſe who take Pains to raiſe Objections againſt it.

The

The Questions will then be, how and by what Methods this Church shall best support it self (the present Circumstances consider'd) in relation to Dissenters of all Sorts? I will first lay this for a ground, That as there can be no true Religion without Charity, so there can be no true Human Prudence without Bearing and Condescension. This Principle does not extend to oblige the Church always to yield to those who are disposed to contest with her, the Expediency of doing it is to be considered and determined according to the Occasions: And this leads me to lay open the Thoughts of our *Trimmer*, in reference, first, to the Protestants, and then to the Popish Recusants.

What has lately happened among us, makes an Apology necessary for saying any thing, that looks like Favour towards a Sort of Men, who have brought themselves under such a Disadvantage.

The late Conspiracy hath such broad Symptoms of the Disaffection of the whole Party, that upon the first Reflections, while our Thoughts are warm, it would almost persuade us to put them out of the Protection of our good Nature, and to think that the Christian Indulgence, which our Compassion for other Mens Sufferings cannot easily deny, seems not only to be forfeited by the ill Appearances that are against them, but even becomes a Crime when it is so misapplied; yet for all this, upon second and cooler Thoughts, Moderate Men will not be so ready to involve a whole

whole Party in the Guilt of a few; and to admit Inferences and Presumptions to be Evidence in a Case, where the Sentence must be so heavy, as it ought to be against all those who have a fixed Resolution against the Government Established. Besides, Men who act by a Principle grounded upon Moral Virtue, can never let it be clearly extinguished by the most repeated Provocations. If a right Thing, agreeable to Nature and good Sense, takes root in the Heart of a Man that is impartial and unbiass'd, no outward Circumstances can ever destroy it. It's true, the Degrees of a Man's Zeal for the Prosecution of it may be differing; Faults of other Men, the Consideration of the Publick, and the seasonable Prudence by which wise Men will ever be directed, may give great Allays; they may lessen, and for a time perhaps suppress the Exercise of that, which in general Proposition may be reasonable; but still whatever is so, will inevitably grow and spring up again, having a Foundation in Nature, which is never to be destroy'd.

Our *Trimmer* therefore endeavours to separate the Detestation of those, who had either a Hand or a Thought in the late Plot, from the Principle of Prudential, as well as Christian Charity towards Mankind; and for that Reason would fain use the Means of reclaiming such of the Dissenters as are not incurable, and even bearing to a Degree those that are, as far as may consist with the Publick Interest and Security. He is far from justifying an affected

Sepa-

Separation from the Communion of the Church; and even in those that mean well and are mistaken, he looks upon it as a Disease that has seized upon their Minds, very troublesome as well as dangerous, by the Consequence it may produce. He does not go about to excuse their making it an indispensible Duty, to meet in Numbers to say their Prayers; such Meetings may prove mischievous to the State; at least the Laws, which are the best Judges, have determined that there is Danger in them. He has good Nature enough to lament, that the Perverseness of a Part should have drawn rigorous Laws upon the whole Body of the Dissenters; but when they are once made, no private Opinion must stand in Opposition to them: If they are in themselves reasonable, they are in that Respect to be regarded, even without being enjoined; and if by the Change of Time and Circumstances, they should become less reasonable than when they were first made, even then they are to be obeyed too, because they are Laws till they are mended or repealed by the same Authority that enacted them.

He has too much Deference to the Constitution of our Government, to wish for more Prerogative Declarations in Favour of scrupulous Men, or to dispense with Penal Laws in such Manner, or to such an End, that suspecting Men might with some Reason pretend, that so hated a Thing as Persecution could never make way for it self with any Hopes of Success, other-

otherwise than by preparing the deluded World by a falſe Proſpect of Liberty and Indulgence. The inward Springs and Wheels whereby the Engine moved, are now ſo fully laid open and expos'd, that it is not ſuppoſable that ſuch a baffled Experiment ſhould ever be tried again; the Effect it had at the time, and the Spirit it raiſed, will not eaſily be forgotten; and it may be preſum'd, that Remembrance of it may ſecure us from any more Attempts of that Nature for the future. We muſt no more break a Law to give Men Eaſe, than we are to riſle an Houſe with a devout Intention of giving the Plunder to the Poor; in this Caſe our Compaſſion would be as ill directed, as our Charity in the other.

In ſhort, the Veneration due to the Laws is never to be thrown off, let the Pretences be never ſo ſpecious: Yet with all this he cannot bring himſelf to think, that an extraordinary Diligence to take the utmoſt Penalty of Laws upon the poor offending Neighbour, is of it ſelf ſuch an all-ſufficient Virtue, that without any thing elſe to recommend Men, it ſhould entitle them to all Kind of Preferments and Rewards: He would not detract from the Merits of thoſe who execute the Laws; yet he cannot think ſuch a Piece of Service as this can entirely change the Man, and either make him a better Divine, or a more knowing Magiſtrate than he was before; eſpecially if it be done with a partial and unequal Hand, in reference to greater and more dangerous Offenders.

Our

Our *Trimmer* would have those mistaken Men ready to throw themselves into the Arms of the Church, and he would have those Arms as ready to receive them that shall come to us. He would have no supercilious Look to fright those strayed Sheep from coming into the Fold again: No ill-natur'd Maxims of an eternal Suspicion, or a Belief that those who have once been in the Wrong, can never be in the Right again; but a visible Preparation of Mind to receive with Joy all the Proselytes that come amongst us, and much greater Earnestness to reclaim than punish them. It is to be confessed, there is a great deal to forgive, a hard Task enough for the Charity of a Church so provoked; but that must not cut off all Hopes of being reconcil'd; yet if there must be some Anger left still, let it break out into a Christian Revenge; and by being kinder to the Children of Disobedience than they deserve, let the injur'd Church triumph, by throwing Shame and Confusion of Face upon them. There should not always be Storms and Thunder, a clear Sky would sometimes make the Church look more like Heaven, and would do more towards the reclaiming those Wanderers, than a perpetual Terror, which seemed to have no Intermission; for there is in many, and particularly in *Englishmen*, a mistaken Pleasure, in resisting the Dictates of rigorous Authority; a Stomach that riseth against a hard Imposition; nay, in some, raises even a Lust in suffering from a wrong Point of Honour, which does not want

the

the Applauſe from the greater Part of Mankind, who have not learnt to diſtinguiſh, Conſtancy will be thought a Virtue, even where it is a Miſtake; and the ill-judging World will be apt to think that Opinion moſt right, which produces the greateſt Number of thoſe who are willing to ſuffer for it. All this is prevented, and falls to the Ground, by uſing well-timed Indulgence; and the ſtubborn Adverſary, who values himſelf upon his Reſiſtance whilſt he is oppreſs'd, yields inſenſibly to kind Methods, when they are apply'd to him; and the ſame Man naturally melts into Conformity, who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught, by the Compaſſion that attendeth the moſt criminal Men when they are condemned, that Faults are much more natural Things than Puniſhments; and that even the moſt neceſſary Acts of Severity do ſome Kind of Violence to our Nature, whoſe Indulgence will not be confined within the ſtrait Bounds of inexorable Juſtice: So that this ſhould be an Argument for Gentleneſs. Beſides that, it is the likelieſt Way to make theſe Men aſham'd of their Separation, whilſt the preſſing them too hard, tends rather to make them proud of it.

Our *Trimmer* would have the Clergy ſupported in their Lawful Rights, and in all the Power and Dignity that belongs to them; and yet he thinks that poſſibly there may be in ſome of them a too great Eagerneſs to extend the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; which tho' it may

may be well intended, yet the straining of it too high, has an Appearance of Ambition that raises Mens Objections to it; and is far unlike the Apostolick Zeal, which was quite otherwise employ'd, that the World draws Inferences from it, which do the Church no Service.

He is troubled to see Men of all Sides sick of a Calenture of a mistaken Devotion; and it seems to him, that the devout Fire of fervent Charity with which the Primitive Christians were inflam'd, is long since extinguish'd, and instead of it a devouring Fire of Anger and Persecution breaks out in the World. We wrangle now one with another about Religion, till the Blood comes; whilst the Ten Commandments have no more Authority with us, than if they were so many obsolete Laws or Proclamations out of Date. He thinks that a Nation will hardly be mended by Principles of Religion, where Morality is made a Heresy; and therefore, as he believes Devotion misplaced when it gets into a Conventicle, he concludes that Loyalty is so too, when lodg'd in a Drunken Club: Those Virtues deserve a better Seat of Empire; and they are degraded, when such Men undertake their Defence, as have too great need of an Apology themselves.

Our *Trimmer* wishes that some Knowledge may go along with the Zeal on the right Side; and that those who are in Possession of the Pulpit, would quote at least so often the Authority of the Scriptures, as they do that of the

the State. There are many who borrow too often Arguments from the Government to uſe againſt their Adverſaries, and neglect thoſe that are more proper, and would be more powerful. A Divine grows leſs, and puts a Diminution on his own Character, when he quoteth any Law but that of God Almighty, to get the better of thoſe who contest with him: And it is a Sign of a decay'd Conſtitution, when Nature with good Diet cannot expel noxious Humours without calling Foreign Drugs to her Aſſiſtance; ſo it looks like Want of Health in a Church, when inſtead of depending upon the Power of that Truth which it holds, and the good Examples of them that teach it, to ſupport it ſelf, and to ſuppreſs Errors, it ſhould have a perpetual Recourſe to the Secular Authority, and even upon the ſlighteſt Occaſions.

Our *Trimmer* has his Objections to the too buſy Diligence, and to the over-doing of ſome of the Diſſenting Clergy; and he does as little approve of thoſe of our Church, who wear God Almighty's Liveries, as ſome old Wardens in the *Tower* do the King's, who do nothing in their Place but receive their Wages for it. He thinks that the Liberty of the late Times gave Men ſo much Light, and diffuſed it ſo univerſally amongſt the People, that they are not now to be dealt with, as they might have been in Ages of leſs Enquiry; and therefore, tho' in ſome well choſen and dearly beloved Auditories, good reſolute Nonſenſe, back'd with Authority, may prevail; yet generally

Men.

Men are become so good Judges of what they hear, that the Clergy ought to be very wary how they go about to impose upon their Understandings, which are grown less humble than they were in former Times, when the Men in Black had made Learning such a Sin in the Laity, that, for Fear of offending, they made a Conscience of being able to read: But now the World is grown sawcy, and expects Reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their own Opinions to other Mens Dictates, tho' never so magisterially deliver'd to them.

Our *Trimmer* is far from approving the Hypocrisy, which seems to be the reigning Vice amongst some of the Dissenting Clergy: He thinks it the most provoking Sin Men can be guilty of, in relation to Heaven, and yet (which may seem strange) that very Sin which shall destroy the Soul of the Man who preaches, may help to save those of the Company that hear him; and even those who are cheated by the false Ostentation of his Strictness of Life, may by that Pattern be encouraged to the real Practice of those Christian Virtues, which he does so deceitfully profess. So that the Detestation of this Fault may possibly be carry'd on too far by our own Orthodox Divines, if they think it cannot be enough express'd without bending the Stick another way. A dangerous Method, and a worse Extreme for Men of that Character, who by going to the outmost Line of Christian Liberty, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it. No Man does less ap-

prove

prove the ill-bred Methods of ſome of the Diſſenters in rebuking Authority, who behave themſelves as if they thought ill Manners neceſſary to Salvation; yet he cannot but diſtinguiſh and deſire a Mean between the Sawcineſs of ſome of the *Scotch Apoſtles*, and the undecent Courtſhip of ſome of the Silken Divines, who, one would think, do practiſe to bow at the Altar, only to learn to make the better Legs at Court.

Our *Trimmer* approves the Principles of our Church, That Dominion is not founded in Grace; and that our Obedience is to be given to a Popiſh King in other Things, at the ſame time that our Compliance with him in his Religion is to be deny'd: yet he cannot but think it a very extraordinary thing, if a Proteſtant Church ſhould, by a voluntary Election, chuſe a Papiſt for their Guardian, and receive Directions for ſupporting their Religion, from one who muſt believe it a Mortal Sin not to endeavour to deſtroy it; ſuch a refined Piece of Breeding would not ſeem to be very well plac'd in the Clergy, who will hardly find Precedents to juſtify ſuch an extravagant Piece of Courtſhip, and which is ſo unlike the Primitive Methods, which ought to be our Pattern. He hath no ſuch unreaſonable Tenderneſs for any Sorts of Men, as to expect their Faults ſhould not be impartially laid open, as often as they give Occaſion for it; and yet he cannot but ſmile to ſee, that the ſame Man, who ſets up all the Sails of his Rhetoriok to fall upon Diſ-

ſenters, when Popery is to be handled, he does it ſo gingerly, that he looks like an Aſs mumbling of Thiſtles; ſo afraid he is of letting himſelf looſe, where he may be in Danger of letting his Duty get the better of his Diſcretion.

Our *Trimmer* is far from reliſhing the impertinent Wandrings of thoſe, who pour out long Prayers upon the Congregation, and all from their own Stock; which, God knows, for the moſt part is a barren Soil, which produces Weeds inſtead of Flowers: And by this Means they expoſe Religion it ſelf, rather than promote Mens Devotions. On the other ſide, there may be too great Reſtraint put upon Men, whom God and Nature hath diſtinguiſhed from their Fellow-Labourers, by bleſſing them with a happier Talent, and by giving them not only good Senſe, but a powerful Utterance too; has enabled them to guſh out upon the attentive Auditory with a mighty Stream of devout and unaffected Eloquence: When a Man ſo qualified, endued with Learning too, and above all, adorned with a good Life, breaks out into a warm and well deliver'd Prayer before his Sermon, it has the Appearance of a Divine Rapture, he raiſes and leads the Hearts of the Aſſembly in another manner, than the moſt Compos'd or beſt-Studied Form of ſet Words can ever do; and the Pray-wees, who ſerve up all their Sermons with the ſame Garniſhing, would look like ſo many Statues, or Men of Straw in the Pulpit, compar'd with thoſe who ſpeak with ſuch

ſuch a powerful Zeal, that Men are tempted at the moment to believe Heaven it ſelf has dictated their Words to 'em.

Our *Trimmer* is not ſo unreaſonably indulgent to the Diſſenters, as to excuſe the Irregularities of their Complaints, and to approve their threatning Stiles, which are ſo ill ſuited to their Circumſtances, as well as their Duty: He would have them to ſhew their Grief, and not their Anger to the Government; and by ſuch a Submiſſion to Authority as becomes them, if they cannot acquieſce in what is impoſed, let them deſerve a Legiſlative Remedy to their Sufferings, there being no other Way to give them perfect Redreſs; and either to ſeek it, or pretend to give it by any other Method, would not only be vain, but criminal too in thoſe that go about it; yet with all this, there may in the mean time be a prudential Latitude left, as to the manner of preventing the Laws now in Force againſt them. The Government is in ſome Degree anſwerable for ſuch an Adminiſtration of them, as may be free from the Cenſure of Impartial Judges; and in order to that, it would be neceſſary that one of theſe Methods be purſued, either to let looſe the Laws to their utmoſt Extent, without any Moderation or Reſtraint; in which at leaſt the Equality of the Government would be without Objection, the Penalties being exacted without Remiſſion from the Diſſenters of all Kinds: or if that will not be done (and indeed there is no Reaſon it ſhould) there is a Neceſ-

ſity

ſity of ſome Connivance to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, to execute that which in Humanity muſt be allowed to the Papiſts, even without any leaning towards them, which muſt be ſuppoſed in thoſe who are or ſhall be in the Adminiſtration of Publick Buſineſs; and it will follow, that, according to our Circumſtances, the Diſtribution of ſuch Connivance muſt be made in ſuch a manner, that the greateſt Part of it may fall on the Proteſtant Side, or elſe the Objections will be ſo ſtrong, and the Inferences ſo clear, that the Friends, as well as the Enemies of the Crown, will be ſure to take hold of them.

It will not be ſufficient to ſay, That the Papiſts may be conniv'd at, becauſe they are good Subjects; and that the Proteſtant Diſſenters muſt ſuffer, becauſe they are ill ones: Theſe general Maxims will not convince diſcerning Men, neither will any late Inſtances make them forget what paſſed at other Times in the World: Both Sides have had their Turns in being good and ill Subjects; and therefore 'tis eaſy to imagine what Suſpicions would ariſe in the preſent Conjuncture, if ſuch a partial Argument as this ſhould be impos'd upon us. The Truth is, this Matter ſpeaks ſo much of it ſelf, that it is not only unneceſſary, but it may be unmannerly to ſay any more of it.

Our *Trimmer* therefore could wiſh, that ſince, notwithſtanding the Laws which deny Churches to ſay Maſs in, even not only the Exerciſe, but alſo the Oſtentation of Popery is as

the Applauſe from the greater Part of Mankind, who have not learnt to diſtinguiſh, Conſtancy will be thought a Virtue, even where it is a Miſtake; and the ill-judging World will be apt to think that Opinion moſt right, which produces the greateſt Number of thoſe who are willing to ſuffer for it. All this is prevented, and falls to the Ground, by uſing well-timed Indulgence; and the ſtubborn Adverſary, who values himſelf upon his Reſiſtance whilſt he is oppreſs'd, yields inſenſibly to kind Methods, when they are apply'd to him; and the ſame Man naturally melts into Conformity, who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught, by the Compaſſion that attendeth the moſt criminal Men when they are condemned, that Faults are much more natural Things than Puniſhments; and that even the moſt neceſſary Acts of Severity do ſome Kind of Violence to our Nature, whoſe Indulgence will not be confined within the ſtrait Bounds of inexorable Juſtice: So that this ſhould be an Argument for Gentleneſs. Beſides that, it is the likelieſt Way to make theſe Men aſham'd of their Separation, whilſt the preſſing them too hard, tends rather to make them proud of it.

Our *Trimmer* would have the Clergy ſupported in their Lawful Rights, and in all the Power and Dignity that belongs to them; and yet he thinks that poſſibly there may be in ſome of them a too great Eagerneſs to extend the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; which tho' it

may

may be well intended, yet the ſtraining of it too high, has an Appearance of Ambition that raiſes Mens Objections to it; and is far unlike the Apoſtolick Zeal, which was quite otherwiſe employ'd, that the World draws Inferences from it, which do the Church no Service.

He is troubled to ſee Men of all Sides ſick of a Calenture of a miſtaken Devotion; and it ſeems to him, that the devout Fire of fervent Charity with which the Primitive Chriſtians were inflam'd, is long ſince extinguiſh'd, and inſtead of it a devouring Fire of Anger and Perſecution breaks out in the World. We wrangle now one with another about Religion, till the Blood comes; whilſt the Ten Commandments have no more Authority with us, than if they were ſo many obſolete Laws or Proclamations out of Date. He thinks that a Nation will hardly be mended by Principles of Religion, where Morality is made a Hereſy; and therefore, as he believes Devotion miſplaced when it gets into a Conventicle, he concludes that Loyalty is ſo too, when lodg'd in a Drunken Club: Thoſe Virtues deſerve a better Seat of Empire; and they are degraded, when ſuch Men undertake their Defence, as have too great need of an Apology themſelves.

Our *Trimmer* wiſhes that ſome Knowledge may go along with the Zeal on the right Side; and that thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion of the Pulpit, would quote at leaſt ſo often the Authority of the Scriptures, as they do that of the

the State. There are many who borrow too often Arguments from the Government to use against their Adversaries, and neglect those that are more proper, and would be more powerful. A Divine grows less, and puts a Diminution on his own Character, when he quoteth any Law but that of God Almighty, to get the better of those who contest with him: And it is a Sign of a Decay'd Constitution, when Nature with good Diet cannot expel noxious Humours without calling Foreign Drugs to her Assistance; so it looks like Want of Health in a Church, when instead of depending upon the Power of that Truth which it holds, and the good Examples of them that teach it, to support it self, and to suppress Errors, it should have a perpetual Recourse to the Secular Authority, and even upon the slightest Occasions.

Our *Trimmer* has his Objections to the too busy Diligence, and to the over-doing of some of the Dissenting Clergy; and he does as little approve of those of our Church, who wear God Almighty's Liveries, as some old Warders in the *Tower* do the King's, who do nothing in their Place but receive their Wages for it. He thinks that the Liberty of the late Times gave Men so much Light, and diffused it so universally amongst the People, that they are not now to be dealt with, as they might have been in Ages of less Enquiry; and therefore, tho' in some well chosen and dearly beloved Auditories, good resolute Nonsense, back'd with Authority, may prevail; yet generally

Men

Men are become so good Judges of what they hear, that the Clergy ought to be very wary how they go about to impose upon their Understandings, which are grown less humble than they were in former Times, when the Men in Black had made Learning such a Sin in the Laity, that, for Fear of offending, they made a Conscience of being able to read: But now the World is grown sawcy, and expects Reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their own Opinions to other Mens Dictates, tho' never so magisterially deliver'd to them.

Our *Trimmer* is far from approving the Hypocrisy, which seems to be the reigning Vice amongst some of the Dissenting Clergy: He thinks it the most provoking Sin Men can be guilty of, in relation to Heaven, and yet (which may seem strange) that very Sin which shall destroy the Soul of the Man who preaches, may help to save those of the Company that hear him; and even those who are cheated by the false Ostentation of his Strictness of Life, may by that Pattern be encouraged to the real Practice of those Christian Virtues, which he does so deceitfully profess: So that the Detestation of this Fault may possibly be carry'd on too far by our own Orthodox Divines, if they think it cannot be enough express'd without bending the Stick another way. A dangerous Method, and a worse Extreme for Men of that Character, who by going to the outmost Line of Christian Liberty, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it. No Man does less ap-

prove

Minds, to think that Men who were obnoxious to the Laws, inſtead of being puniſhed, ſhould have Credit enough to ſerve themſelves, even at the Price of deſtroying the Fundamental Conſtitution, that it broke out into a Flame, which before it could be quenched, had almoſt reduc'd the Nation to Aſhes.

Amongſt the miſerable Effects of that unnatural War, none hath been more fatal to us, than the forcing our Princes to breathe in another Air, and to receive the early Impreſſions of a Foreign Education. The Barbarity of the *Engliſh* towards the King and the Royal Family, might very well tempt him to think the better of every thing he found abroad, and might naturally produce more Gentleneſs at leaſt towards a Religion by which he was hoſpitably received, at the ſame time that he was thrown off and perſecuted by the Proteſtants (tho' his own Subjects) to aggravate the Offence. The Queen Mother (as generally Ladies do with Age) grew moſt devout and earneſt in her Religion; and beſides the temporal Rewards of getting larger Subſidies from the *French* Clergy, ſhe had Motives of another Kind, to perſuade her to ſhew her Zeal; and ſince by the *Roman* Diſpenſatory, a Soul converted to the Church is a Sovereign Remedy, and lays up a mighty Stock of Merit, ſhe was ſolicitous to ſecure her ſelf in all Events, and therefore firſt ſet upon the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who depended ſo much upon her Good-will, that ſhe might for that Reaſon have been induc'd

duc'd to believe the Conqueſt would not be difficult; but it ſo fell out, that he either from his own Conſtancy, or that he had thoſe near him by whom he was otherwiſe advis'd, choſe rather to run away from her Importunity, than than by ſtaying to bear the continual Weight of it. It is believ'd ſhe had better Succeſs with another of her Sons, who, if he was not quite brought off from our Religion, at leaſt ſuch Beginnings were made, as made them very eaſy to be finiſh'd: His being of a Generous and Aſpiring Nature, and in that reſpect leſs patient in the Drudgery of Arguing, might probably help to recommend a Church to him, that exempts the Laity from the Vexation of enquiring; perhaps he might (tho' by Miſtake) look upon that Religion as more favourable to the enlarged Power of Kings; a Conſideration which might have its Weight with a young Prince in his warm Blood, and that was brought up in Arms.

I cannot hinder my ſelf from a ſmall Digreſſion, to conſider with Admiration, that the old Lady of *Rome*, with all her Wrinkles, ſhould yet have the Charms able to ſubdue great Princes: So far from handſome, and yet ſo imperious; ſo painted, and yet ſo pretending; after having abus'd, depos'd, and murther'd ſo many of her Lovers, ſhe ſtill finds others glad and proud of their new Chains. A thing ſo ſtrange to indifferent Judges, that thoſe who will allow no other Miracles in the Church of *Rome*, muſt needs grant that this is one not to

be conteſted: She ſits in her Shop, and ſells at dear Rates her Rattles and her Hobby-Horſes, whilſt the deluded World ſtill continues to furniſh her with Cuſtomers.

But whither am I carried by this Contemplation? It is high time to return to my Text, and to conſider the wonderful Manner of the King's coming home again, led by the Hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of his own People; who receiv'd him, if poſſible, with Joys equal to the Bleſſing of Peace and Union, which his Reſtoration brought along with it. By this there was an End put to the Hopes ſome might have abroad, of making uſe of his leſs happy Circumſtances to throw him into Foreign Intereſts and Opinions, which had been wholly inconſiſtent with our Religion, our Laws, and all other Things that are dear to us; yet for all this, ſome of thoſe Tinctures and Impreſſions might ſo far remain, as tho' they were very innocent in him, yet they might have ill Effects here, by ſoftning the Animoſity, which ſeems neceſſary to the Defender of the Proteſtant Faith, in Oppoſition to ſuch a powerful and irreconcilable an Enemy.

You may be ſure, that among all the Sorts of Men who apply'd themſelves to the King at his firſt coming home for his Protection, the Papiſts were not the laſt, nor, as they fain would have flatter'd themſelves, the leaſt welcome, having their paſt Sufferings, as well as their preſent Profeſſions to recommend them: And there was ſomething that look'd like a particu-

lar

lar Conſideration of them, ſince it ſo happen'd that the Indulgence promis'd to Diſſenters at *Breda*, was carried on in ſuch a manner, that the Papiſts were to divide with them; and tho' the Parliament, notwithſtanding its Reſignation to the Crown in all Things, rejected with Scorn and Anger a Declaration framed for this Purpoſe; yet the Birth and Steps of it gave ſuch an Alarm, that Mens Suſpicions once raiſed, were not eaſily laid aſleep again.

To omit other Things; the Breach of the Triple League, and the *Dutch* War with its Appurtenances, carried Jealouſies to the higheſt Pitch imaginable, and fed the Hopes of one Party, and the Fears of the other to ſuch a Degree, that ſome critical Revolutions were generally expected, when the ill Succeſs of that War, and the Sacrifice *France* thought fit to make of the Papiſts here to their own Intereſt abroad, gave them another Check; and the Act of enjoining the Teſt to all in Offices, was thought to be no ill Bargain to the Nation, tho' bought at the Price of 1200000 Pound, and the Money apply'd to continue the War againſt the *Dutch*, than which nothing could be more unpopular or leſs approved. Notwithſtanding the Diſcouragements, Popery is a Plant that may be mowed down, but the Root will ſtill remain, and in ſpite of the Laws it will ſprout up and grow again; eſpecially if it ſhould happen that there ſhould be Men in Power, who in weeding it out of our Garden, will take care to cheriſh and keep it alive; and

tho' the Laws for excluding them from Places of Truſt were tolerably kept, as to their outward Form; yet there were many Circumſtances, which being improved by the quick-ſighted Malice of ill-affected Men, did help to keep up the World in their Suſpicions, and to blow up Jealouſies to ſuch a height, both in and out of Parliament, that the Remembrance of them is very unpleaſant, and the Example ſo extravagant, that it is to be hop'd nothing in our Age like it will be re-attempted. But to come cloſer to the Caſe in queſtion; in this Condition we ſtand with the Papiſts; what ſhall now be done, according to our *Trimmer*'s Opinion, in order to the better bearing this Grievance, ſince, as I have ſaid before, there is no Hopes of being entirely free from it; Papiſts we muſt have among us; and if their Religion keep them from bringing Honey to the Hive, let the Government try, at leaſt by gentle Means, to take away the Sting from them. The firſt Foundation to be laid is, That a diſtinct Conſideration is to be had of the Popiſh Clergy, who have ſuch an eternal Intereſt againſt all Accommodation, that it is a hopeleſs thing to propoſe any thing to them leſs than all; their Stomachs have been ſet for it ever ſince the Reformation; they have pinned themſelves to a Principle that admits no Mean: They believe Proteſtants will be damn'd; and therefore by an extraordinary Effect of Chriſtian Charity, they would deſtroy one half of *England*, that the other might be ſaved. Then for this

World,

World, they muſt be in Poſſeſſion for God Almighty, to receive his Rents for him, not to account till the Day of Judgment; which is a good Kind of Tenure; and ye cannot well blame the good Men that will ſtir up the Laity to run any Hazard in order to the getting them reſtor'd. What is it to the Prieſt, if the deluded Zealot undoes himſelf in the Attempt? He ſings Maſſes as jollily, and with as good a Voice at *Rome* or St. *Omers*, as ever he did; is a ſingle Man, and can have no Wants but ſuch as may be eaſily ſupply'd; yet that he may not ſeem altogether inſenſible, or ungrateful to thoſe that are his Martyrs, he is ready to aſſure their Executors, and if they pleaſe, will procure a Grant *ſub Annulo Piſcatoris*, That the good Man, by being changed, has got a good Bargain, and ſav'd the Singeing of ſome Hundred of Years, which he would elſe have had in Purgatory. There's no Cure for this Order of Men, no Expedient to be propos'd; ſo that tho' the utmoſt Severity of the Laws againſt them may in ſome ſort be mitigated, yet no Treaty can be made with Men, who in this Caſe have left themſelves no Free-Will, but are ſo muffled by Zeal, tied by Vows, and kept up by ſuch unchangeable Maxims of the Prieſthood, that they are to be left as deſperate Patients, and look'd upon as Men that will continue in an Eternal State of Hoſtility, till the Nation is entirely ſubdued to them. It is then only the Lay-Papiſts that are capable of being treated with; and we are to examine

of

of what Temper they are, and what Arguments are the moſt likely to prevail upon them, and how far 'tis adviſeable for the Government to be indulgent to them. The Lay-Papiſts generally keep their Religion, rather becauſe they will not break Company with thoſe of their Party, than out of any ſettled Zeal that hath Root in them: Moſt of them do, by the Mediation of the Prieſts, marry amongſt one another, to keep up an ignorant Poſition by hearing only one Side; others, by a Miſtake, look upon it as the Eſcutcheon of the more Ancient Religion of the Two: And as ſome Men of a good Pedigree will deſpiſe meaner Men, tho' never ſo much ſuperior to them by Nature; ſo theſe undervalue Reformation as an Upſtart, and think there is more Honour in ſupporting an Old Error, than in embracing what ſeems to them to be a New Truth. The Laws have made them Men of Pleaſure, by excluding them from Publick Buſineſs; and it happens well they are ſo, ſince they will the more eaſily be perſuaded by Arguments of Eaſe and Conveniency to them: They have not put off the Man in general, nor the *Engliſhman* in particular; thoſe who in the late Storm againſt them went into other Countries, tho' they had all the Advantage that might recommend them to a good Reception, yet in a little time they choſe to ſteal over again, and live here with Hazard, rather than abroad with Security. There is a Smell in our Native Earth, better than all the Perfumes in the *Eaſt*; there is

ſome-

ſomething in a Mother, tho' never ſo angry, that the Children will more naturally truſt her, than the ſtudied Civilities of Strangers, let them be never ſo hoſpitable; therefore 'tis not adviſable, nor agreeing with the Rules of governing Prudence, to provoke Men by Hardſhips to forget that Nature, which elſe is ſure to be of our Side.

When theſe Men, by fair Uſage, are put again into their right Senſes, they will have quite differing Reflections from thoſe which Rigor and Perſecution had raiſed in them. A Lay-Papiſt will firſt conſider his Abbey-Lands, which, notwithſtanding whatever has or can be alledged, muſt ſink conſiderably in the Value, the Moment that Popery prevails: And it being a diſputable Matter, whether Zeal might not in a little time get the better of the Law in that Caſe; a conſidering Man will admit that as an Argument to perſuade him to be content with Things as they are, rather than run this, or any other Hazard by Change; in which perhaps he may have no other Advantage, than that his now humble Confeſſor may be rais'd to a Biſhoprick, and from thence look down ſuperciliouſly upon his Patron; or, which is worſe, run to take Poſſeſſion for God Almighty of his Abbey, in ſuch a manner, as the uſurping Landlord (as he will then be called) ſhall hardly be admitted to be ſo much as a Tenant to his own Lands, leſt his Title ſhould prejudge that of the Church, which will then be the Language. He will think what Diſad-

vantage

vantage 'tis to be looked upon as a ſeparate Creature, depending upon a Foreign Intereſt and Authority, and for that Reaſon expos'd to the Jealouſy and Suſpicion of his Countrymen: He will reflect what Incumbrance it is to have his Houſe a Paſture for hungry Prieſts to graze in, which have ſuch a never-failing Influence upon the Fooliſh, which is the greateſt Part of every Man's Family, that a Man's Dominion even over his own Children, is mangled *and* divided, if not totally undermin'd by them: Then to be ſubject to what Arbitrary Taxes *the* Popiſh Convocation ſhall impoſe upon them, for the carrying on the Common Intereſt of that Religion, under Penalty of being mark'd out for half Hereticks by the reſt of the Party. To have no Share in Buſineſs, no Opportunity of ſhewing his own Value to the World; to live at the beſt an uſeleſs, and by others to be thought a dangerous Member of the Nation where he is born, is a Burthen to a *generous* Mind, that cannot be taken off by all the Pleaſure of a lazy unmanly Life, or by *the* nauſeous Enjoyment of a dull Plenty, that produceth no good for the Mind; which will be conſidered in the firſt place by a Man that has a Soul, when he ſhall think, that if his Religion, after his wading through a Sea of Blood, come at laſt to prevail, it would infinitely leſſen, if not entirely deſtroy the Glory, Riches, Strength and Liberty of his own Country. And what a Sacrifice is this to make to *Rome*, where they are wiſe enough to wonder there

ſhould

be ſuch Fools in the World, as to venture, ſtruggle and contend, nay, even die Martyrs for that, which, ſhould it ſucceed, would prove a Judgment inſtead of a Bleſſing to them? He will conclude, that the Advantages of throwing ſome of their Children back again to God Almighty, when they have too many of them, are not equal to the Inconveniencies they may either feel or fear, by continuing their Separation from the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

Temporal Things will have their Weight in the World; and tho' Zeal may prevail for a time, and get the better in a Skirmiſh, yet the War ends generally on the Side of Fleſh and Blood, and will do ſo till Mankind is another thing than it is at preſent: And therefore a Wiſe Papiſt, in cold Blood, conſidering theſe and many other Circumſtances, which 'twill be worth his Pains to ſee, if he can unmuffle himſelf from the Mask of Infallibility, will think it reaſonable to ſet his Impriſon'd Senſes at Liberty, and that he has a Right to ſee with his own Eyes, hear with his own Ears, and judge by his own Reaſon; the Conſequence of which might probably be, that weighing Things in a right Scale, and ſeeing them in their true Colours, he would diſtinguiſh between the Merit of ſuffering for a good Cauſe, and the fooliſh Oſtentation of drawing Inconveniencies upon himſelf; and therefore will not be unwilling to be convinc'd, that our Proteſtant Creed may make him happy in the other World, and the eaſier in this. A few

ſuch wiſe Proſelytes would by their Example
w ſo many after them, that the Party would
enſibly melt away, and in a little time, with-
t any angry Word, we ſhould come to an
nion, that all good Men would have Reaſon
rejoice at: But we are not to preſume upon
heſe Converſions, without preparing Men for
hem by kind and reconciling Arguments;
othing is ſo againſt our Nature, as to believe
thoſe can be in the right who are too hard up-
on us. There is a Deformity in every thing
that doth us hurt, it will look ſcurvily in our
Eye while the Smart continues; and a Man
muſt have an extraordinary Meaſure of Grace,
to think well of a Religion that reduces him
and his Family to Miſery. In this Reſpect
our *Trimmer* would conſent to the Mitigation
of ſuch Laws as were made (as 'tis ſaid King
Henry VIII. got Queen *Elizabeth*) in a Heat
againſt *Rome*. It may be ſaid, That even
States as well as private Men are ſubject to
Paſſion: A juſt Indignation of a villanous At-
tempt produces at the ſame time ſuch Reme-
dies, as perhaps are not without ſome Mixture
of Revenge; and therefore, tho' Time cannot
repeal a Law, it may by a natural Effect ſoften
the Execution of it. There is leſs Danger to
rouze a Lion when at Reſt, than to awake
Laws that were intended to have their time of
Sleeping; nay, more than that, in ſome Caſes
their natural Periods of Life, dying of them-
ſelves, without the Solemnity of being revok'd
any otherwiſe than by the common Conſent of
Mankind,

Mankind, who do ceaſe to execute, when the Reaſons in great meaſure fail, that firſt created and juſtify'd the Rigor of ſuch unuſual Penalties.

Our *Trimmer* is not eager to pick out ſome Places in Hiſtory againſt this or any other Party; quite contrary, is very ſolicitous to find out any thing that may be healing, and tend to an Agreement; but to preſcribe the Means of this Gentleneſs ſo as to make it effectual, muſt come from the only Place that can furniſh Remedies for this Cure, *viz.* a Parliament. In the mean time it is to be wiſhed there may be ſuch a mutual Calmneſs of Mind, as that the Proteſtants might not be ſo jealous, as ſtill to ſmell the Match that was to blow up the King and both Houſes in the Gunpowder Treaſon, or to ſtart at every Appearance of Popery, as if it were juſt taking Poſſeſſion. On the other ſide, let not the Papiſts ſuffer themſelves to be led by any Hopes, tho' never ſo flattering, to a Confidence or Oſtentation, which muſt provoke Men to be leſs kind to them: Let them uſe Modeſty on their Side, and the Proteſtants Indulgence on theirs; and by this means there will be an overlooking of all venial Faults, a tacit Connivance at all things that do not carry Scandal with them; which would amount to a kind of natural Diſpenſation with the ſevere Laws, ſince there would be no more Accuſers to be found, when the Occaſions of Anger and Animoſity are once remov'd. Let the Papiſts in the mean time remember, that there is a

Reſpect

Reſpect due from all leſſer Numbers to greater; a Deference to be paid by an Opinion that is Exploded, to one that is Eſtabliſhed: Such a Thought well digeſted, will have an Influence upon their Behaviour, and produce ſuch a Temper, as muſt win the moſt eager Adverſaries out of their ill Humour to them, and give them a Title to all the Favour that may be conſiſtent with the publick Peace and Security.

The Trimmer's *Opinion in Relation to Things abroad.*

THE World is ſo compos'd, that it is hard, if not impoſſible for a Nation not to be a great deal involv'd in the Fate of their Neighbours; and tho' by the Felicity of our Situation we are more Independent than any other People, yet we have in all Ages been concern'd for our own Sakes in the Revolutions abroad. There was a Time when *England* was the overbalancing Power of *Chriſtendom*, and that either by Inheritance or Conqueſt, the better Part of *France* receiv'd Laws from us. After that, we being reduc'd into our own Limits, *France* and *Spain* became the Rivals for the Univerſal Monarchy; and our Third Power, tho'

tho' in it ſelf leſs than either of the other, happened to be Superior to any of them, by that Choice we had of throwing the Scales on that Side to which we gave our Friendſhip. I do not know whether this Figure did not make us as great as our former Conqueſt, to be a perpetual Umpire of two great contending Powers, who gave us all their Courtſhip, and offer'd all their Incenſe at our Altar, whilſt the Fate of either Prince ſeemed to depend upon the Oracles we delivered. For the King of *England* to ſit on his Throne, as in the Supreme Court of Juſtice, to which the Two great Monarchs appeal, pleading their Cauſe, and expecting their Sentence, declaring which Side was in the right, or at leaſt, if we pleas'd, which Side ſhould have the better of it, was a Piece of Greatneſs which was peculiar to us; and no wonder if we endeavour to preſerve it, as we did for a conſiderable Time, it being our Safety, as well as Glory, to maintain it: But by a Fatality upon our Councils, or by the refin'd Policy of this latter Age, we have thought fit to uſe Induſtry to deſtroy this mighty Power, which we have ſo long enjoyed; and that Equality between the Two Monarchs, which we might for ever have preſerved, has been chiefly broken by us, whoſe Intereſt it was above all others to maintain it: When one of them, like the Overflowing of the Sea, had gained more upon the other than our Convenience, or indeed our Safety would allow; inſtead of mending the Banks, or making new ones, we

our

our ſelves with our own Hands help'd to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther Inundation. *France* and *Spain* have had their ſeveral Turns in making uſe of our Miſtakes; and we have been formerly as deaf to the Inſtances of the then weaker Part of the World, to help them againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as we can now be to the Earneſtneſs of *Spain*, that we would aſſiſt them againſt the Power of *France*. *Gundomar* was as ſawcy, and as powerful too in King *James*'s Court, as any *French* Ambaſſador can have been at any time ſince, when Men talk'd as wrong then on the *Spaniſh* Side, and made their Court by it, as well as any can have done ſince by talking as much for the *French*; ſo that from that time, inſtead of weighing in a wiſe Balance the Power of either Crown, it looks as if we had learnt only to weigh the Penſions, and take the heavieſt.

It would be tedious, as well as unwelcome, to recapitulate all our wrong Steps; ſo that I will go no farther than the King's Reſtoration, at which time the Balance was on the Side of *France*; and that by the means of *Cromwell*, who for a ſeparate Intereſt of his own, had ſacrificed that of the Nation, by joining with the ſtronger Side to ſuppreſs the Power of *Spain*, which he ought to have ſupported. Such a Method was natural enough to an Uſurper, and ſhewed he was not the Lawful Father of the People, by his having ſo little Care of them; and the Example coming from that Hand,

Hand, one would think ſhould for that Reaſon be leſs likely to be followed. But to go on; home comes the King, followed with Courtſhips from all Nations abroad, of which ſome did it not only to make them forget how familiarly they had uſed him when he was in other Circumſtances, but to beſpeak the Friendſhip of a Prince, who, beſides his other Greatneſs, was yet more conſiderable by being re-eſtabliſhed by the Love of his People. *France* had an Intereſt either to diſpoſe us to ſo much good Will, or at leaſt to put us into ſuch a Condition, that we might give no Oppoſition to their Deſigns: And *Flanders* being a perpetual Object in their Eye, a laſting Beauty for which they have an incurable Paſſion; and not being kind enough to conſent to them, they meditated to commit a Rape upon her, which they thought would not be eaſy to do, while *England* and *Holland* were agreed to reſcue her, whenever they ſhould hear her cry out for Help to them. To this end they put in Practice ſeaſonable and artificial Whiſpers, to widen Things between us and the *States*. *Amboyna* and the Fiſhery muſt be talked of here; the Freedom of the Seas, and the Preſervation of Trade muſt be inſinuated there: And there being combuſtible Matter on both Sides, in a little time it took Fire, which gave thoſe that kindled it ſufficient Cauſe to ſmile and hug themſelves, to ſee us both fall into the Net they had laid for us. And it is obſervable, and of good Example to us, if we will take it,

that

that their Deſign being to ſet us together at Cuffs to weaken us, they kept themſelves Lookers on, till our Victories began to break the Balance: Then the King of *France*, like a wiſe Prince, was reſolved to ſupport the beaten Side, and would no more let the Power of the Sea, than we ought to ſuffer the Monarchy of *Europe*, to fall into one Hand. In purſuance to this, he took part with the *Dutch*, and in a little time made himſelf Umpire of the Peace between us. Some Time after, upon Pretence of his Queen's Title to Part of *Flanders*, by Right of Devolution, he falls into it with a mighty Force; for which the *Spaniard* was ſo little prepared, that he made a very ſwift Progreſs, and had ſuch a Torrent of undiſputed Victory, that *England* and *Holland*, though the Wounds they had given one another were yet green, being ſtruck with the Apprehenſion of ſo near a Danger to them, thought it neceſſary, for their own Defence, to make up a ſudden League, into which *Sweden* was taken to interpoſe for a Peace between the Two Crowns.

This had ſo good an Effect, that *France* was ſtopp'd in its Career, and the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* was a little after concluded. 'Twas a forc'd Put; and tho' *France* wiſely diſſembled their inward Diſſatisfaction, yet from the very moment they reſolved to unty the Triple Knot, whatever it coſt them: For his Chriſtian Majeſty, after his Conquering Meals, ever riſes with a Stomach; and he liked the Pattern ſo well,

well, that it gave him a longing Deſire to have a whole Piece. Amongſt the other Means uſed for the attaining this End, the ſending over the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* was not the leaſt powerful: She was a very welcome Gueſt here, and her own Charms and Dexterity, joined with other Advantages that might help her Perſuaſions, gave her ſuch an Aſcendant, that ſhe ſhould hardly fail of Succeſs. One of the Preliminaries of her Treaty, tho' a trivial thing in it ſelf, yet was conſiderable in the Conſequence; as very ſmall Circumſtances often are, in relation to the Government of the World. About this Time a general Humour, in Oppoſition to *France*, had made us throw off their Faſhion, and put on Veſts, that we might look more like a diſtinct People, and not be under the Servility of Imitation, which ever pays a greater Deference to the Original, than is conſiſtent with the Equality all Independent Nations ſhould pretend to. *France* did not like this ſmall Beginning of ill Humours, at leaſt of Emulation, and wiſely conſidering that it is a natural Introduction firſt to make the World their Apes, that they may be afterwards their Slaves; it was thought that one of the Inſtructions Madam brought along with her, was to laugh us out of theſe Veſts; which ſhe performed ſo effectually, that in a Moment, like ſo many Footmen who had quitted their Maſter's Livery, we all took it again, and returned to our old Service: So that the very time of doing it gave a very critical Advantage

vantage to *France*, ſince it look'd like an Evidence of our returning to their Intereſt, as well as to their Faſhion; and would give ſuch a Diſtruſt of us to our new Allies, that it might facilitate the Diſſolution of the Knot, which tied them ſo within their Bounds, that they were very impatient till they were freed from the Reſtraint.

But the Lady had a more extended Commiſſion than this, and without doubt ſhe double-laid the Foundation of a new ſtrict Alliance, quite contrary to the other in which we had been ſo lately engaged. And of this there were ſuch early Appearances, that the World began to look upon us as falling into Apoſtacy from the common Intereſt. Notwithſtanding all this, *France* did not neglect at the ſame time to give good Words to the *Dutch*, and even to feed them with Hopes of ſupporting them againſt us, when on a ſudden, that never-to-be-forgotten Declaration of War againſt them comes out, only to vindicate his own Glory, and to revenge the Injuries done to his Brother in *England*, by which he became our Second in this Duel. So humble can this Prince be; when at the ſame time he does us more Honour than we deſerve, he lays a greater Share of the Blame upon our Shoulders, than did naturally belong to us. The Particulars of that War, our Part in it while we ſtaid in it, and when we were out of Breath, our leaving the *French* to make an End of it, are Things too well known to make it neceſſary,

and too unwelcome in themſelves to incite me to repeat them; only the Wiſdom of *France* is in this to be obſerved, That when we had made a ſeparate Peace, which left them ſingle to oppoſe the united Force of the Confederates, they were ſo far from being angry, that they would not ſhew ſo much as the leaſt Coldneſs; hoping to get as much by our Mediation for a Peace, as they would have expected from our Aſſiſtance in the War, our Circumſtances at that Time conſidered. This ſeaſonable Piece of Indulgence in not reproaching us, but rather allowing thoſe Neceſſities of State which we gave for our Excuſe, was ſuch an engaging Method, that it went a great way to keep us ſtill in their Chains, when to the Eye of the World we had abſolutely broke looſe from them. And by what paſs'd afterwards at *Nimeguen*, tho' the King's Neutrality gave him the outward Figure of a Mediator, it appear'd that his Interpoſition was extremely ſuſpected of Partiality by the Confederates, who upon that ground did both at, and before the Concluſion of that Treaty, treat his Miniſters there with a great deal of Neglect in this Peace, as well as that in the *Pyrenean* and *Aix la Chapelle*. The King of *France*, at the Moment of making it, had the Thought of breaking it; for a very little time after he broached his Pretenſions upon *Aloſt*, which were Things that if they had been offered by a leſs formidable Hand, would have been ſmiled at; but ill Arguments, being ſeconded by good Armies, carry ſuch a

Power with them, that naked Senſe is a very unequal Adverſary. It was thought that theſe airy Claims were chiefly rais'd with the Proſpect of getting *Luxemburg* for the Equivalent; and this Opinion was confirmed by the blocking it up afterwards, pretending to the Country of *Chimay*, that it might be entirely ſurrounded by the *French* Dominions: and it was ſo preſſed, that it might have fallen in a little time, if the King of *France* had not ſent Orders to his Troops to retire; and his Chriſtian Generoſity, which was aſſign'd for the Reaſon of it, made the World ſmile, ſince it is ſeen how differently his devout Zeal works in *Hungary*: That ſpecious Reaſon was in many Reſpects ill-tim'd, and *France* it ſelf gave it ſo faintly, that at the very time it looked out of Countenance. The true Ground of his retiring, is worth our Obſervation: For at the Inſtance of the Confederates, Offices were done, and Memorials given, but all ineffectual till the Word *Parliament* was put into them; that powerful Word had ſuch an Effect, that even at that Diſtance it rais'd the Siege; which may convince us of what Efficacy the King of *England*'s Words are, when he will give them their full Weight, and threaten with his *Parliament*: It is then that he appears that great Figure we ought to repreſent him in our Minds; the Nation his Body, he the Head, and joined with that Harmony, that every Word he pronounces, is the Word of a Kingdom: Such Words, as appears by this Example, are as effectual

fectual as Fleets and Armies, becauſe they can create them; and without this, his Word ſounds abroad like a faint Whiſper, that is either not heard, or (which is worſe) not minded. But tho' *France* had made this Step of forc'd Compliance, it did not mean to leave off the Purſuit of their Pretenſions; and therefore immediately propoſed the Arbitration to the King; but it appeared, that notwithſtanding his *Merit* towards the Confederates in ſaving *Luxemburg*, the Remembrances of what had paſſed before, had left ſuch an ill Taſte in their *Mouths*, that they could not reliſh our being put into a Condition to diſpoſe of their Intereſts; and therefore declin'd it, by inſiſting upon a general Treaty, to which *France* has ever ſince continued to be averſe. Our great Earneſtneſs alſo to perſuade the Confederates to conſent to it, was ſo unuſual, and ſo ſuſpicious a Method, that it might naturally make them believe, that *France* ſpake to them by our *Mouth*; and for that Reaſon, if there had been no other, might hinder the accepting it: And ſo little Care hath been taken to cure this, or other Jealouſies the Confederates may have entertain'd, that, quite contrary, their *Miniſters* here every Day take freſh Alarms, from what they obſerve in ſmall, as well as in greater Circumſtances; and they being apt both to take and improve Apprehenſions of this Kind, draw ſuch Inferences from them, as make them entirely deſpair of us.

Thus we now ſtand, far from being innocent Spectators of our Neighbour's Ruin, and by a fatal Miſtake forgetting what a certain Forerunner it is to our own. And now it's time our *Trimmer* ſhould tell ſomething of his Opinion upon this preſent State of Things abroad. He firſt profeſſes to have no Biaſs, either for or againſt *France*, and that his Thoughts are wholly directed by the Intereſt of his own Country. He allows, and has read that *Spain* uſed the ſame Methods when it was in its Height, as *France* doth now; and therefore it is not Partiality that moves him, but the juſt Fear which all reaſonable Men muſt be poſſeſs'd with, of an over-growing Power. *Ambition* is a devouring Beaſt; when it has ſwallow'd one Province, inſtead of being cloyed, it has ſo much the greater *Stomach* to another; and being fed, becomes ſtill the more hungry: So that for the Confederates to expect a Security from any thing but their own united Strength, is a moſt miſerable Fallacy; and if they cannot reſiſt the *Encroachments* of *France* by their Arms, it is in vain for them to dream of any other Means of Preſervation: It would have the better Grace, beſides the ſaving ſo much Blood and Ruin, to give up all at once; make a Preſent of themſelves to appeaſe this haughty Monarch, rather than be whiſper'd, flatter'd, or cozen'd out of their Liberty. Nothing is ſo ſoft as the firſt Applications of a greater Prince to engage a weaker; but that ſmiling Countenance is but a Vizard, it is not

the

the true Face; for as ſoon as their Turn is ſerv'd, the Courtſhip flies to ſome other Prince or State, where the ſame Part is to be acted over again; leaves the old miſtaken Friend to Neglect and Contempt, and like an inſolent Lover to a caſt-off Miſtreſs, reproaches her of that Infamy of which he himſelf was the Author. *Sweden*, *Bavaria*, *Palatine*, &c. may, by their freſh Examples, teach other Princes what they are reaſonably to expect, and what Snakes are hid under the Flowers the Court of *France* ſo liberally throws upon them, whilſt they can be uſeful. The various Methods and deep Intrigues, with the differing Notes in ſeveral Countries, do not only give Suſpicion, but Aſſurance that every thing is put in Practice, by which univerſal Monarchy may be obtain'd. Who can reconcile the withdrawing of his Troops from *Luxemburg*, in Conſideration of the War in *Hungary*, which was not then declared; and preſently after encouraging the *Turk* to take *Vienna*, and conſequently to deſtroy the Empire? Or who can think that the Perſecution of the poor Proteſtants of *France* will be accepted of God, as an Atonement for hazarding the Loſs of the whole Chriſtian Faith? Can he be thought in earneſt, when he ſeem'd to be afraid of the *Spaniards*, and for that Reaſon muſt have *Luxemburg*; and that he cannot be ſafe from *Germany*, unleſs he is in Poſſeſſion of *Straſburg*? All Injuſtice and Violence muſt in it ſelf be grievous; but the Aggravations of ſupporting an ill, and

falſe Arguments and inſulting Reaſons, has ſomething in it yet more provoking than the Injuries themſelves; and the World has Ground enough to apprehend, from ſuch a Method of arguing, that even their Senſes are to be ſubdued, as well as their Liberties. Then the Variety of Arguments uſed by *France* in ſeveral Countries, is very obſervable. In *England* and *Denmark*, nothing inſiſted on but the Greatneſs and Authority of the Crown: On the other Side, the great Men in *Poland* are commended, who differ in Opinion with the King; and they argue like Friends to the Privilege of the Diet, againſt the ſeparate Power of the Crown. In *Sweden*, they are troubled that the King ſhould have chang'd ſomething there of late, by his ſingle Authority, from the Ancient and Settled Authority and Conſtitutions. At *Ratisbon*, the moſt Chriſtian Majeſty taketh the Liberties of all the Electors and Free States into his Protection; and tells them the Emperor is a dangerous Man, an aſpiring Hero, that would infallibly devour them, if he was not at hand to reſiſt him on their behalf. But above all, in *Holland* he has the moſt obliging Tenderneſs for the *Commonwealth*, and is in ſuch Diſquiets leſt it ſhould be invaded by the Prince of *Orange*, that they can do no leſs in Gratitude than undo themſelves when he bids them, to ſhow how ſenſible they are of his exceſſive good Nature; yet in ſpight of all theſe Contradictions, there are in the World ſuch refin'd *Statesmen*, as will upon their Credit affirm the following

following Paradoxes to be real Truth: First, That *France* alone is sincere and keeps its Faith, and consequently that it is the only Friend we can rely upon. That the King of *France*, of all Men living, has the least Mind to be a Conqueror: That he is a sleepy, tame Creature, void of all Ambition, a poor Kind of a Man, that has no farther Thoughts than to be quiet: That he is charm'd by his Friendship to us, that it is impossible he should ever do us hurt; and therefore, tho' *Flanders* was lost, it would not in the least concern us. That he would fain help the Crown of *England* to be absolute; which would be to take pains to put it into a Condition to oppose him, as it is, and must be our Interest, as long as he continues in such an over-balancing Power and Greatness.

Such a Creed as this, if once receiv'd, might prepare our Belief for greater Things: And as he that taught Men to eat a Dagger, began first with a Penknife; so if we can be prevail'd with to digest the smaller Mistakes, we may at last make our Stomachs strong enough for that of Transubstantiation. Our *Trimmer* cannot easily be converted out of his Senses by these State-Sophisters; and yet he has no such peevish Obstinacy, as to reject all Correspondence with *France*, because we ought to be apprehensive of the too great Power of it. He would not have the King's Friendship to the Confederates, extended to the involving him in any unreasonable or dangerous Engagements; neither

would he have him lay aſide the Conſideration of his better Eſtabliſhment at home, out of his exceſſive Zeal to ſecure his Allies abroad. But ſure there might be a Mean between theſe two oppoſite Extremes; and it may be wiſhed, that our Friendſhip with *France* ſhould at leaſt be ſo bounded, that it may conſiſt with the Humour as well as the Intereſt of *England*. There is no Woman but has the Fears of contracting too near an Intimacy with a much greater Beauty, becauſe it expoſes her too often to a Compariſon that is not advantageous to her: And ſure it may become a Prince to be as jealous of his Dignity, as a Lady can be of her good Looks, and to be as much out of Countenance, to be thought an humble Companion to ſo much a greater Power. To be always ſeen in an ill Light, to be ſo darkened by the Brightneſs of a greater Star, is ſomewhat mortifying; and when *England* might ride Admiral at the Head of the Confederates, to look like the Kitching-Yatch to the Grand *Louis*, is but a ſcurvy Figure for us to make in the Map of *Chriſtendom*. It would riſe up in our *Trimmer*'s Stomach, if ever (which God forbid) the Power of calling and intermitting Parliaments here, ſhould be transferred to the Crown of *France*, and that all the Opportunities of our own Settlements at home, ſhould give way to their Projects abroad; and that our Intereſts ſhould be ſo far ſacrificd to our Compliance, that all the Omnipotence of *France* can never make us full amends for it.

In

In the mean time, he ſhrinks at the diſmal Proſpect he can by no means drive away from his Thoughts, That when *France* has gather'd all the Fruit ariſing from our Miſtakes, and that we can bear no more with them, they will cut down the Tree, and throw it into the Fire. For all this while, ſome ſuperfine Stateſmen, to comfort us, would fain perſuade the World, that this or that Accident would ſave us; and for all that is or ought to be dear to us, would have us to rely wholly upon Chance, not conſidering that Fortune is Wiſdom's Creature, and that God Almighty loves to be on the Wiſeſt as well as the Strongeſt Side: Therefore this is ſuch a miſerable Shift, ſuch a ſhameful Evaſion, that they would be laugh'd to Death for it, if the ruining Conſequence of this Miſtake did not more diſpoſe Men to Rage and a Deteſtation of it.

Our *Trimmer* is far from Idolatry in other Things, in one Thing only he comes near it, his Country is in ſome Degree his Idol: He does not worſhip the Sun, becauſe 'tis not peculiar to us, it rambles about the World, and is leſs kind to us than others; but for the Earth of *England*, tho' perhaps inferior to that of many Places abroad, to him there is Divinity in it; and he would rather die, than ſee a Piece of *Engliſh* Graſs trampled down by a Foreign Treſpaſſer. He thinks there are a great many of his Mind, for all Plants are apt to taſte of the Soil in which they grow; and we that grow here, have a Root that produces

in us a Stalk of *English* Juice, which is not to be changed by Grafting or foreign Infusion: And I do not know whether any thing less will prevail, than the Modern Experiment, by which the Blood of one Creature is transmitted into another; according to which, before the *French* can be let into our Bodies, every Drop of our own must be drawn out of them.

Our *Trimmer* cannot but lament, that by a Sacrifice too great for one Nation to another, we should be like a rich Mine, made useless only for want of being wrought; and that the Life and Vigor which should move us against our Enemies, is miserably apply'd to tear our own Bowels: That being made by our happy Situation not only safer, but if we please greater too, than other Countries which far exceed us in Extent: That having Courage by Nature, Learning by Industry, and Riches by Trade, we should corrupt all these Advantages, so as to make them insignificant; and by a Fatality which seems peculiar to us, misplace our active Rage one against another, whilst we are turn'd into Statues on that Side, where lies our greatest Danger; to be unconcern'd not only at our Neighbour's Ruin but our own, and let our Island lie like a great Hulk in the Sea, without Rudder or Sail, all the Men cast away in her, or as if we were all Children in a great Cradle, and rock'd asleep to a Foreign Tune.

I say, when our *Trimmer* represenleth to his Mind our Roses blasted and discolour'd, whilst the Lillies triumph and grow insolent upon

upon the Comparison; when he considers our own once flourishing Laurel, now withered and dying, and nothing left us but a Remembrance of a better Part in History than we shall make in the next Age; which will be no more to us, than an Escutcheon hung upon our Door when we are Dead: When he foresees from hence, growing Infamy from abroad, Confusion at home, and all this without the Possibility of a Cure, in respect of the voluntary Fetters good Men put upon themselves by their Allegiance; without a good Measure of preventing Grace, he would be tempted to go out of the World like a *Roman* Philosopher, rather than endure the Burthen of Life under such a discouraging Prospect. But Mistakes, as all other Things, have their Periods; and many times the nearest way to cure, is not to oppose them, but stay till they are crush'd with their own Weight. For Nature will not allow any thing to continue long that is violent: Violence is a Wound, and as a Wound must be curable in a little time, or else 'tis mortal; but a Nation comes near to be Immortal, therefore the Wound will one time or other be cur'd, tho' perhaps by such rough Methods, if too long forborn, as may even make the best Remedies we can prepare, to be at the same time a melancholy Contemplation to us. There is but one Thing (God Almighty's Providence excepted) to support a Man from sinking under these afflicting Thoughts, and that is the Hopes we draw singly

gly from the King himself, without the Mixture of any other Consideration.

Tho' the Nation was lavish of their Kindness to him at his first Coming, yet there remains still a Stock of Warmth in Mens Hearts for him.

Besides, the good Influences of his happy Planet are not yet all spent; and tho' the Stars of Men past their Youth are generally declining, and have less Force, like the Eyes of decaying Beauties; yet by a Blessing peculiar to himself, we may yet hope to be saved by his Annual Fortune: He has something about him, that will draw down a healing Miracle for his and our Deliverance: A Prince which seems fitted for such an offending Age, in which Mens Crimes have been so general, that the forgiving his People has been the destroying them; whose Gentleness gives him a natural Dominion that hath no Bounds, with such a noble Mixture of Greatness and Condescension, an engaging Look, that disarms Men of their ill Humours, and their Resentments; Something in him that wanteth a Name, and can be no more defined than it can be resisted: A Gift of Heaven, of its last finishing, where it will be peculiarly kind: The only Prince in the World that dares be familiar, or that has right to triumph over those Forms which were first invented to give Awe to those who could not judge, and to hide Defects from those that could. A Prince that has exhausted himself by his Liberality, and endangered himself by his

Mercy; who out-shines by his own Light and natural Virtues, all the Varnish of ſtudied Acquiſitions; his Faults are like Shades to a good Picture, or like Allay to Gold, to make it the more uſeful; he may have ſome, but for any Man to ſee them through ſo many reconciling Virtues, is a Sacrilegious Piece of ill Nature, of which no generous Mind can be guilty: A Prince that deſerves to be loved for his own Sake, even without the Help of a Compariſon; our Love, our Duty, and our Danger, all join to cement our Obedience to him. In ſhort, whatever he can do, it is no more poſſible for us to be angry with him, than with a Bank that ſecures us from the raging Sea, the kind Shade that hides us from the ſcorching Sun, the welcome Hand that reaches us a Reprieve, or with the Guardian Angel, that reſcues our Souls from the devouring Jaws of wretched Eternity.

CONCLUSION.

TO conclude; our *Trimmer* is ſo fully ſatisfy'd of the Truth of theſe Principles by which he is directed, in reference to the Publick, that he will neither be Hector'd and Threaten'd, Laugh'd nor Drunk out of them; and

and instead of being converted by the Arguments of his Adversaries to their Opinions, he is very much confirmed in his own by them: He professes solemnly, that were it in his Power to chuse, he would rather have his Ambition bounded by the Commands of a Great and Wise Master, than let it range with a popular License, tho' crown'd with Success; yet he cannot commit such a Sin against the glorious Thing call'd Liberty, nor let his Soul stoop so much below it self, as to be content without repining to have his Reason wholly subdu'd, or the Privilege of acting like a sensible Creature, torn from him by the imperious Dictates of Unlimited Authority, in what Hand soever it happens to be placed. What is there in this that is so criminal, as to deserve the Penalty of that most singular Apothegm, *A Trimmer is worse than a Rebel*? What do angry Men ail, to rail so against Moderation? Does it not look as if they were going to some very scurvy Extreme, that is too strong to be digested by the more considering Part of Mankind? These Arbitrary Methods, besides the Injustice of them, are (God be thanked) very unskilful too; for they fright the Birds, by talking so loud, from coming into the Nets that are laid for them: And when Men agree to rifle a House, they seldom give warning, or blow a Trumpet; but there are some small Statesmen, who are so full charg'd with their own Expectations, that they cannot contain.

And

And kind Heaven, by ſending ſuch a ſeaſonable Curſe upon their Undertakings, has made their Ignorance an Antidote againſt their Malice. Some of theſe cannot treat peaceably; yielding will not ſatisfy them, they will have Men by Storm: There are others that muſt have Plots to make their Service more neceſſary, and have an Intereſt to keep them alive, ſince they are to live upon them; and perſuade the King to retrench his own Greatneſs, ſo as to ſhrink into the Head of a Party, which is the betraying him into ſuch an Unprincely Miſtake, and to ſuch a wilful Diminution of himſelf, that they are the laſt Enemies he ought to allow himſelf to forgive: Such Men, if they could, would prevail with the Sun to ſhine only upon them and their Friends, and to leave all the reſt of the World in the dark. This is a very unuſual Monopoly, and may come within the Equity of the Law, which makes it Treaſon to impriſon the King: When ſuch unfitting Bounds are put to his Favour, and he confin'd to the narrow Limits of a particular Set of Men, that would incloſe him; theſe Honeſt and only Loyal Gentlemen, if they may be allowed to bear Witneſs for themſelves, make a King their Engine, and degrade him into a Property, at the very time that their Flattery would make him believe they paid Divine Worſhip to him. Beſides theſe, there is a flying Squadron on both Sides, that are afraid the World ſhould agree; ſmall Dabblers in Conjuring, that raiſe angry Apparitions

ritions to keep Men from being reconciled, like Waſps that fly up and down, buz and ſting Men to keep them unquiet; but theſe Inſects are commonly ſhort-liv'd Creatures, and no doubt in a little time Mankind will be rid of them. They were Giants at leaſt who fought once againſt Heaven, but for ſuch Pigmies as theſe to contend againſt it, is ſuch a provoking Folly, that the inſolent Bunglers ought to be laugh'd and hiſs'd out of the World for it. They ſhould conſider, there is a Soul in that great Body the People, which may for a time be drowſy and unactive, but when the *Leviathan* is rouz'd, it moves like an angry Creature, and will neither be convinc'd nor reſiſted: The People can never agree to ſhew their united Powers, till they are extremely tempted and provoked to it; ſo that to apply Cupping-Glaſſes to a great Beaſt naturally diſpoſed to Sleep, and to force the tame Thing, whether it will or no, to be Valiant, muſt be learnt out of ſome other Book than *Machiavil*, who would never have preſcrib'd ſuch a prepoſterous Method. It is to be remembred, that if Princes have Law and Authority on their Sides, the People on theirs may have Nature, which is a formidable Adverſary. Duty, Juſtice, Religion, nay, even Human Prudence too, bids the People ſuffer any thing rather than reſiſt; but uncorrected Nature, where-e're it feels the Smart, will run to the neareſt Remedy. Mens Paſſions, in this Caſe, are to be conſidered as well as their Duty, let it be never ſo ſtrongly enforced;

enforced; for if their Paſſions are provoked, they being as much a Part of us as our Limbs, they lead Men into a ſhort way of arguing, that admits no Diſtinction; and from the Foundation of Self-defence, they will draw Inferences that will have miſerable Effects upon the Quiet of a Government.

Our *Trimmer* therefore dreads a general Diſcontent, becauſe he thinks it differs from a Rebellion, only as a Spotted Fever does from the Plague, the ſame Species under a lower Degree of Malignity; it works ſeveral ways, ſometimes like a ſlow Poiſon that has its Effects at a great Diſtance from the Time it was given; ſometimes like dry Flax prepared to catch at the firſt Fire, or like Seed in the Ground ready to ſprout up on the firſt Shower: In every Shape 'tis fatal, and our *Trimmer* thinks no Pains or Precaution can be ſo great as to prevent it.

In ſhort, he thinks himſelf in the right, grounding his Opinion upon that Truth, which equally hates to be under the Oppreſſions of wrangling Sophiſtry on the one hand, or the ſhort Dictates of miſtaken Authority on the other.

Our *Trimmer* adores the Goddeſs *Truth*, thof in all Ages ſhe has been ſcurvily uſed, as well as thoſe that worſhipped her: 'Tis of late become ſuch a ruining Virtue, that Mankind ſeems to be agreed to contend and avoid it; yet the Want of Practice, which reveals the other Laws, has no Influence upon the Law of

Truth,

Truth, becauſe it has Root in Heaven, and an intrinſick Value in it ſelf, that can never be impaired: She ſhews her Greatneſs in this, that her Enemies, even when they are ſucceſsful, are aſhamed to own it. Nothing but Power full of Truth has the Prerogative of Triumphing, not only after Victories, but in ſpite of them, and to put Conqueſt her ſelf out of Countenance. She may be kept under and ſuppreſs'd, but her Dignity ſtill remains with her, even when ſhe is in Chains. Falſhood with all her Impudence, has not enough to ſpeak ill of her before her Face: Such Majeſty ſhe carries about her, that her moſt proſperous Enemies are fain to whiſper their Treaſon; all the Power upon the Earth can never extinguiſh her: She has liv'd in all Ages; and let the miſtaken Zeal of prevailing Authority chriſten any Oppoſition to it with what Name they pleaſe, ſhe makes it not only an ugly and unmannerly, but a dangerous thing to perſiſt: She has lived very retired indeed, nay, ſometime ſo buried, that only ſome few of the diſcerning Part of Mankind could have a Glimpſe of her; with all that, ſhe has Eternity in her, ſhe knows not how to die, and from the darkeſt Clouds that ſhade and cover her, ſhe breaks from time to time with Triumph for her Friends, and Terror to her Enemies.

Our *Trimmer* therefore, inſpired by this Divine Virtue, thinks fit to conclude with theſe Aſſertions, That our Climate is a *Trimmer*,

mer, between that Part of the World where Men are roaſted, and the other where they are frozen: That our Church is a *Trimmer*, between the Phrenzy of Platonick Viſions, and the Lethargick Ignorance of Popiſh Dreams: That our Laws are *Trimmers*, between the Exceſs of Unbounded Power, and the Extravagance of Liberty not enough reſtrained: That true Virtue has ever been thought a *Trimmer*, and to have its Dwelling in the Middle between the two Extremes: That even God Almighty himſelf is divided between his two great Attributes, his Mercy and his Juſtice.

In ſuch Company, our *Trimmer* is not aſhamed of his Name, and willingly leaves to the bold Champions of either Extreme, the Honour of contending with no leſs Adverſaries than Nature, Religion, Liberty, Prudence, Humanity, and common Senſe.

THE

THE ANATOMY OF AN EQUIVALENT.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year MDCCXVII.

THE ANATOMY OF AN EQUIVALENT.

I. THE World hath of late Years never been without ſome extraordinary *Word* to furniſh the Coffee-Houſes, and fill the Pamphlets. Sometimes it is a *new* one invented, and ſometimes an *old* one revived. They are uſually fitted to ſome preſent Purpoſe, with Intentions as differing as the various Deſigns ſeveral Parties may have, either to delude the People, or to expoſe their Adverſaries: They are not of long Continuance, but after they have paſſed a little while, and that they are grown naufeous by being ſo often repeated, they give place to ſomething that is newer. Thus, after *Whig*, *Tory*, and *Trimmer* have had their Time, now they are dead and forgotten, being ſupplanted by the Word **Equivalent**, which reigneth in their ſtead.

The

The Birth of it is in short this: After many repeated Essays to dispose Men to the Repeal of Oaths and Tests made for the Security of the Protestant Religion, the general Aversion to comply in it was found to be so great, that it was thought advisable to try another manner of attempting it, and to see whether by putting the *same thing* into *another Mould*, and softning an *harsh Proposition* by a *plausible Term*, they might not have better Success. To this end, instead of an *absolute quitting* of these Laws without any Condition, which was the *first* Proposal; now it is put into gentler Language, and runneth thus: *If you will take away the* Oaths *and* Tests, *you shall have as good a thing for them.* This put into the fashionable Word, is now called an **Equivalent**.

II. So much to the Word it self. I will now endeavour, in short, to examine and explain, in order to the having it fully understood.

First, What *is* the Nature of a true *Equivalent*; and

In the next place, What Things *are not* to be admitted under that Denomination.

I shall treat these as general Propositions; and though I cannot undertake how far they may be *convincing*, I may safely do it that they are *impartial*; of which there can be no greater Evidence, than that I make neither Inference nor Application, but leave that Part entirely to the Reader, according as his own Thoughts shall direct and dispose him.

III. I will

III. I will firſt take notice, that this Word, by the Application which hath been made of it in ſome Modern Inſtances, lieth under ſome *Diſadvantage*, not to ſay ſome *Scandal*. It is tranſmitted hither from *France*; and if, as in moſt other Things that we take from them, we carry them beyond the Pattern, it ſhould prove ſo in this, we ſhould get into a more partial Stile than the Principles of *Engliſh* Juſtice will, I hope, ever allow us to be guilty of.

The *French* King's *Equivalents* in *Flanders*, are very *extraordinary Bargains*; his Manner of propoſing and obtaining them, is very differing from the uſual Methods of *equal* Dealing. In a later Inſtance, *Denmark*, by the Encouragement as well as by the Example of *France*, hath propos'd Things to the Duke of *Holſtein*, which are called *Equivalents*; but that they are ſo, the World is not yet ſufficiently convinced, and probably the Parties concerned do not think them to be ſo, and conſequently do not appear to be at all diſpoſed to accept them. Princes enjoin and preſcribe ſuch Things, when they have *Strength* and *Power* to ſupply the Want of *Arguments*; and according to Practice in theſe Caſes, the weaker are never thought to have an *ill Bargain*, if they have *any thing* left them. So that the firſt Qualification of an *Equivalent* muſt be, that the Appraiſers be *indifferent*, elſe it is only a *Sound*, there can be nothing *real* in it: For where the ſame Party that *propoſeth* a

Bargain, claimeth a Right to ſet the *Value*; or, which is worſe, hath *Power* too to make it good, the other may be forced to *ſubmit* to the Conditions, but he can by no means ever be perſuaded to *treat* upon them.

IV. The next Thing to be conſidered is, that to make an *Equivalent* in Reality an equal thing in the Propoſer, it muſt be a *better* thing than that which is required by him; *juſt as Good* is ſubject to the Hazard of not being *quite ſo good:* It is not eaſy to have ſuch an even Hand, as to make the Value exactly equal. Beſides, according to the Maxim in Law, *Melior conditio poſſidentis*, the Offer is not fair, except the Thing offered is better in Value than the Thing demanded. There muſt be Allowance for removing what is fixed, and there muſt be ſomething that may be a Juſtification for *changing*. The Value of Things very often dependeth more upon other Circumſtances, than upon what is merely intrinſick to them: therefore the Calculation muſt be made upon that Foot perhaps in moſt Caſes; and particularly the *Want* which one of the Parties may have of the Thing he requireth, maketh it more valuable to *him* than it is in *it ſelf*. If the Party *propoſing* doth not want the Thing he would have in Exchange, his requiring it is *impertinent:* If he doth, his Want of it muſt go *into* the Appraiſement; and by conſequence every Propoſer of an *Equivalent* muſt offer a *better* Thing, or elſe he muſt not take it unkindly

kindly to be refuſed, except the other Party hath an *equal Want* of the *ſame* Thing; which is very improbable, ſince naturally he that wanteth moſt will ſpeak firſt.

V. Another Thing neceſſary to the making a fair Bargain, is, That let the Parties who treat be never ſo unequal in themſelves, yet as to the particular Thing propoſed, there muſt be an *exact Equality*; as far as it relateth to the full Liberty of *taking* or *refuſing*, *concurring* or *objecting*, without any Conſequence of Revenge, or ſo much as Diſſatisfaction: For it is impoſſible to *treat*, where it is an Affront to *differ*; in that Caſe there is no Mean between the two Extremes, either an open Quarrel, or an entire Submiſſion: The *Way* of *Bargaining* muſt be equal, elſe the Bargain *it ſelf* cannot be ſo. For Example: The Propoſer is not only to uſe *equal* Terms as to the *Matter*, but *fair* ones in the *Manner* too. There muſt be no Intimations of *Anger* in Caſe of *Refuſal*, much leſs any open *Threatning*. Such a Stile is ſo ill ſuited to the uſual Way of Treating, that it looketh more like a Breach of the Peace, than the making a Bargain. It would be yet more improper, and leſs agreeing with the Nature of an *Equivalent*, if whilſt two Men are chaffering about the *Price*, one of them ſhould actually take the thing in Queſtion at his *own rate*, and afterwards deſire to have his Poſſeſſion *confirmed* by a formal Agreement: Such a Proceeding would not only *deſtroy* that

particular Contract, but make it impoſſible to have any *other* with the Party that could be guilty of ſuch a Practice.

VI. *Violence* preceding deſtroyeth all Contract; and even tho' the Party that offereth it, ſhould have a Right to the Thing he ſo taketh, yet it is to be obtained by *legal* Means, elſe it may be *forfeited* by his *Irregularity* in the Purſuit of it. The *Law* is ſuch an Enemy to *Violence*, and ſo little to be reconciled to it, that in the Caſe of a *Rape*, the Puniſhment is not taken off, though the Party injured afterwards *conſenteth*. The Juſtice of the Law hath its Eye upon the firſt Act, and the *Maxim* of *Volenti non fit injuria*, doth not in this Caſe help the Offender, it being a Plea *ſubſequent* to the Crime, which maketh it to be rejected as a Thing wrong dated and out of Time.

In taking away Goods or Money, it is the ſame thing. The Party robbed, by *giving* them afterwards to the Taker, does not exempt him from the Puniſhment of the *Violence*: Quite contrary, the Man from whom they were taken is puniſhable, if he doth not *proſecute*. If the Caſe ſhould be, that a Man thus taking away a thing without Price, claimeth a *Right* to take it, then whether it is well or ill founded is not the Queſtion; but ſure the Party from whom it is ſo taken, whilſt he is treating to *Sell* or *Exchange* it, can never make a Bargain with ſo *Arbitrary* a Chapman, there being no room left after that to talk of the Value.

VII. To

VII. To make an equal Bargain, there muſt be a Liberty of *differing*, not only in every thing that is *really eſſential*, but in every thing that is *thought ſo* by *either* Party, and moſt eſpecially by him who is in *Poſſeſſion* of the Thing demanded: His *Opinion* muſt be a *Rule* to him, and even his *Miſtake* in the Value, though it may not convince the Man he hath to deal with, yet he will be juſtified for not *accepting* what is offered, till the *Miſtake* is fairly rectified and over-ruled.

When a *Security* is deſired to be *changed*, that Side which *deſireth* it muſt not pretend to *impoſe* upon the other, ſo as to dictate to them, and tell them without Debate, that they are *ſafe* in what is propoſed, ſince of that the Counſel on the *other Side* muſt certainly be the moſt *competent Judges*. The Hand it cometh from is a great Circumſtance, either to invite or diſcourage in all Matters of Contract; the Qualifications of the *Party offering* muſt ſuit with the *Propoſition* it ſelf, elſe let it be never ſo fair, there is Ground for *Suſpicion*.

VIII. When Men are of a Temper, that they think they have Wrong done them, if they have not always the better Side of a *Bargain*; if they happen to be ſuch, as by Experience have been found to have an *ill Memory* for their *Word*; if the Character they bear doth not recommend their *Juſtice*, where-ever their *Intereſt* is concern'd: In theſe Caſes thinking

Men will avoid dealing, not only to prevent *Surprize*, but to cut off the Occaſions of *Difficulty* or *Diſpute*.

It is yet more *diſcouraging*, when there are either a *precedent* Practice, or *ſtanding* Maxims of *groſs Partiality*, in aſſuming a Privilege of *Exemption* from the uſual Methods of equal Dealings.

To illuſtrate this by an Inſtance: Suppoſe that in any Caſe the Church of *Rome* ſhould have an *Intereſt* to promote a Bargain; let her *Way of dealing* be a little examined, which will direct thoſe with whom ſhe treateth, how far they are to rely upon what *ſhe propoſeth* to them. We may begin with the Quality in the World, the leaſt conſiſting with equal Dealing, *viz.* an incurable *Partiality* to her ſelf; which, that it may arrive to its full Perfection, is crowned with *Infallibility*. At the firſt ſetting out, ſhe maketh her ſelf uncapable of dealing upon Terms of *Equality*, by the Power ſhe claimeth of *binding* and *looſing*, which hath been ſo often apply'd to *Treaties*, as well as to *Sins*.

If the Definition of *Juſtice* is to deal *equally*, ſhe cannot be guilty of it without *betraying her Prerogative*; and according to her Principles, ſhe giveth up the Superiority derived to her by *Apoſtolical Succeſſion*, if ſhe degradeth her ſelf ſo as to be judged by the Rules of *common Right*, eſpecially if the Bargain ſhou'd be with *Hereticks*, who, in her Opinion, have *forfeited* the Claim they might otherwiſe have had to it.

IX. Be-

IX. Beſides, her Taſte hath been ſo ſpoiled by *unreaſonable Bargains*, that ſhe can never bring down her Palate to any thing that is *fair* or *equal*. She hath not only judg'd it an *Equivalent*, but a great *Bargain* for the other Side, to give them *Abſolutions* and *Indulgence* for the *real Payment* of great Sums, for which ſhe hath drawn Bills to have them repay'd with Intereſt in *Purgatory*.

This *Spiritual Bank* hath carried on ſuch a Trade upon theſe advantageous Terms, that it can never ſubmit to the ſmall Profits an ordinary *Bargain* would produce.

The ſeveral Popes have in Exchange for the *Peter-Pence*, and all their other *Rents* and *Fines* out of *England*, ſent *ſanctified Roſes*, *Reliques*, and other ſuch Wonder-working Trifles: And by Vertue of their Character of *Holy Fathers*, have uſed Princes like *Children*, by ſending them ſuch *Rattles* to play with, which they made them buy at extravagant Rates; beſides which, they were to be thankful too into the Bargain.

A Chip of the Croſs, a Piece of St. *Lawrence*'s Gridiron, a Hair of St. *Peter*, have been thought *Equivalents* for much more ſubſtantial Things. The Popes being Maſters of the Jewel-Houſe, have ſet the *Rates* upon them; and they have paſſed, tho' the whole Shop would not take up the Value of a Bodkin in *Lombard-ſtreet* upon the Credit of them.

They are *unconſcionable Purchaſers*, for they get all the Money from the *Living*, by praying for them when they are *Dead*. And it is obſervable, that the *Northern* Part of *Chriſtendom*, which beſt underſtandeth *Trade*, were the firſt that refuſed to make any more Bargains with them: So that it looketh as if the chief Quarrel with the *Hereticks* was not as they were *ill Chriſtians*, but as they were *unkind Merchants*, in ſo diſcourteouſly rejecting the Commodities of the Growth of *Rome*.

To conclude this Head; There's no bartering with *Infallibility*, it being ſo much above *Equality*, that it cannot bear the Indignity of a true *Equivalent*.

X. In all Bargains there is a Neceſſity of looking back, and reflecting how far a *preſent Propoſal* is reconcileable with a *former Practice*. For Example; If at any time a Thing is offered, quite differing from the *Arguments* uſed by the Propoſer, and inconſiſtent with the *Maxims* held out by him at other times. Or in a publick Caſe, if the ſame Men who promote and preſs a Thing with the utmoſt Violence, do in a little time after with as much Violence preſs the contrary, and profeſs a Deteſtation of the very Thing, for which they had before employed all their *Intereſt* and *Authority*. Or if in the Caſe of a Law *already* made, there ſhould be a Privilege claimed to *exempt* thoſe from the Obligation of obſerving it, who yet ſhould *afterwards deſire* and *preſs*

to

to have a *new Law* made in Exchange for the *old* one, by which they would not be bound; and that they ſhould propoſe a *Security* by a Thing of the very *ſame Nature* as that which they did not allow to be any before: Theſe *Incoherences* muſt naturally have the Effect of raiſing *Suſpicion*; or rather they are a certain Proof, that in ſuch Circumſtances it is *irrational* for Men to expect an effectual *Equivalent*.

XI. If whatſoever is more than ordinary is *ſuſpicious*, every thing that is unnatural is more ſo. It is not only *unnecaſſary*, but *unnatural* too, to perſuade with *Vehemence* what it is *Folly* to refuſe; to *puſh* Men with Eagerneſs into a good Bargain for themſelves, is a Style very much unſuitable to the Nature of the Thing. But it goeth farther, and is yet more abſurd, to grow angry with Men for not receiving a Propoſal that is for their *Advantage*. Men ought to be content with the Generoſity of *offering* good Bargains, and ſhould give their *Compaſſion* to thoſe who do not underſtand them: But by carrying their good Nature ſo far as to be *cholerick* in ſuch a Caſe, they wou'd follow the Example of the *Church of Rome*, where the Definition of *Charity* is very extraordinary. In her Language, the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo* is a *Love-Letter*; and *burning* Men for differing with them in Opinion, howſoever miſcalled *Cruelty*, is, as they underſtand it, the *Perfection* of *flaming Charity*.

When *Anger*, in these Cases, lasteth long, it is most probable that it is for our *own Sakes*. Good Nature for others is one of those Diseases that is cured by Time, and especially where it is *offered* and *rejected*; but for our selves it never faileth, and cannot be extinguished but with our Life. It is fair, if Men can believe that their Friends love them *next* to themselves; to love them *better*, is too much; the Expression is so *unnatural* that it is *cloying*, and Men must have no *Sense*, who in this Case have no *Suspicion*.

XII. Another Circumstance necessary to a *fair* Bargain, is, That there must be *Openness* and *Freedom* allowed, as the Effect of that *Equality*, which is the Foundation of Contracting. There must be full Liberty of *objecting*, and making *Doubts* and *Scruples*: If they are such as can be *answered*, the Party convinced is so much the more *confirmed* and *encouraged* to deal, instead of being hindred by them; but if instead of an *Answer* to satisfy, there is nothing but *Anger* for a Reply, it is impossible not to conclude that there is never a good one to give; so that the Objection remaining without being fully *confuted*, there is an absolute *Bar* put to any further Treaty.

There can be no dealing, where one Side assumeth a Privilege to *impose*, so as to make an *Offer*, and not bear the *Examination* of it: This is giving *Judgment*, not making a *Bargain*. Where it is called *unmannerly* to *object*, or *criminal*

criminal to *refuſe*, the ſureſt way is for Men to ſtay where they are, rather than treat upon ſuch Diſadvantage.

If it ſhould happen to be in any Country, where the Governing Power ſhould allow Men *Liberty* of *Conſcience* in the Choice of their *Religion*, it would be ſtrange to deny them *Liberty* of *Speech* in making a *Bargain*. Such a Contradiction would be ſo diſcouraging, that they muſt be *unreaſonably ſanguine*, who in that Caſe can entertain the Hopes of a fair *Equivalent*.

XIII. An *equal* Bargain muſt not be a *Myſtery* nor a *Secret*; the Purchaſer or Propoſer is to tell *directly* and *plainly*, what it is he intendeth to give in Exchange for that which he requireth. It muſt be viewed and conſidered by the other Party, that he may judge of the Value; for without *knowing* what it is, he cannot determine whether he ſhall *take* or *leave* it. An Aſſertion in general, that it ſhall be as *good* or a *better* Thing, is not in this a *ſufficient* Excuſe for the Miſtake of dealing upon ſuch uncertain Terms. In all things that are dark and not enough explained, *Suſpicion* naturally followeth. A *Secret* generally implieth a *Defect* or a *Deceit*; and if a *falſe Light* is an Objection, no *Light* at all is yet a greater. To pretend to give a *better* Thing, and to refuſe to ſhew it, is very near ſaying it is *not ſo good* a one; at leaſt ſo it will be taken in common Conſtruction. A *Myſtery* is yet a more diſcoura-

couraging thing to a *Proteſtant*, eſpecially if the Propoſition ſhould come from a Papiſt; it being one of his great Objections to that Church, that there are ſo many of them *inviſible* and *impoſſible*, which are ſo violently thruſt upon their Underſtandings, that they are overlaid with them. They think that *Rational Creatures* are to be convinced only by *Reaſon*, and that *Reaſon* muſt be viſible and freely expoſed, elſe they will think themſelves uſed with *Contempt* inſtead of *Equality*, and will never allow ſuch a *ſuſpected Secrecy* to be a fit Preface to a *real Equivalent*.

XIV. In Matters of Contract, not only the preſent Value, but the *Contingencies* and *Conſequences*, as far as they can be fairly ſuppoſed, are to be conſidered. For Example: If there ſhould be a *Poſſibility*, that one of the Parties may be ruined by accepting, and the other only diſappointed by his refuſing; the Conſequences are ſo extremely unequal, that it is not imaginable a Man ſhould take that for an *Equivalent*, which hath ſuch a *fatal Poſſibility* at the Heels of it.

If it ſhould happen in a *publick* Caſe, that ſuch a Propoſal ſhould come from the *minor* Part of an Aſſembly or Nation to the *greater*; it is very juſt, that the *Hazard* of ſuch a *Poſſibility* ſhould, more or leſs, likely fall upon the leſſer Part, rather than upon the greater; for whoſe Sake and Advantage Things are, and muſt be calculated in all *Publick Conſtitutions*.

Sup-

Suppoſe in any mixed Government, the Chief *Magiſtrate* ſhould propoſe upon a Condition, in the *Senate*, *Diet*, or other *Supreme Aſſembly*, either to Enact or Abrogate one or more Laws, by which a *Poſſibility* might be let in of *deſtroying* their *Religion* and *Property*, which in other Language ſignifieth no leſs than *Soul* and *Body*; where could be the *Equivalent* in the Caſe, not only for the *real Loſs*, but even for the *Fear of loſing* them? Men can fall no lower than to *loſe* all; and if loſing *all* deſtroyeth them, the venturing *all* muſt fright them.

In an Inſtance, when Men are ſecure, that how far ſoever they may be over-run by *Violence*, yet they can never be undone by *Law*, except they give their Aſſiſtance to make it poſſible, though it ſhould neither be likely nor intended; ſtill the *Conſequence* which may happen, is too big for any preſent thing to make amends for it. Whilſt the Word Poſſible remaineth, it muſt *forbid* the Bargain. Where-ever it falleth out therefore, that in an Example of a publick Nature, the Changing, Enacting, or Repealing a Law, may naturally tend to the *miſplacing* the Legiſlative Power in the Hands of thoſe who have a *ſeparate Intereſt* from the Body of a People, there can be no treating, till it is demonſtrably made out, that ſuch a Conſequence ſhall be *abſolutely impoſſible*; for if that ſhall be denied by thoſe who make the Propoſal, if it is becauſe they *cannot* do it, the Motion at firſt was very *unfair*;

unfair; if they *can* and *will not*, it would be yet leſs reaſonable to expect that ſuch *partial* Dealers would ever give an *Equivalent* fit to be *accepted*.

XV. It is neceſſary in all dealing to be *aſſured*, in the firſt place, that the *Party propoſing* is in a Condition to *make good* his Offer; that he is neither under any *former Obligations* or *pretended Claims*, which may render him uncapable of performing it; elſe he is ſo far in the Condition of a *Minor*, that whatſoever he diſpoſeth by Sale or Exchange, may be afterwards reſumed, and the Contract becometh void, being *originally defective*, for Want of a ſufficient Legal Power in him that made it.

In the Caſe of a ſtrict Settlement, where the Party is only *Tenant* for *Life*, there is no Poſſibility of treating with one under ſuch Fetters; no Purchaſe or Exchange of Lands, or any thing elſe, can be good, where there is ſuch an *Incapacity* of making out a Title; the Intereſt veſted in him being ſo limited, that he can do little more than pronounce the *Words* of a Contract, he can by no means perform the *Effect* of it.

In more *publick* Inſtances, the *Impoſſibility* is yet more expreſs; as ſuppoſe in any Kingdom, where the *People* have ſo much Liberty left them, as that they may make Contracts with the *Crown*, there ſhould be ſome *peculiar Rights* claimed to be ſo *fixed* to the Royal Function,

ction, that no King for the Time being could have Power to *part* with them, being ſo *fundamentally* tied to the Office, that they can never be ſeparated. Such *Rights* can upon no Occaſion be received in *Exchange* for any thing the Crown may deſire from the People: That can never be *taken* in Payment, which cannot lawfully be *given*; ſo that if they ſhould part with that which is required upon thoſe Terms, it muſt be a *Gift*, it cannot be a *Bargain*.

There is not in the whole *Dictionary* a more untractable Word than *Inherent*, and leſs to be reconciled to the Word *Equivalent*.

The Party that will contract in ſpight of ſuch a Claim, is content to *take* what is *impoſſible* to *grant*; and if he complaineth of his Diſappointment, he neither can have Remedy, nor deſerveth it.

If a Right ſo claimed, happeneth to be of ſo *comprehenſive* a *Nature*, as that by a clear Inference it may extend to every thing elſe, as well as to the *particular* Matter in Queſtion; as often as the Supreme Magiſtrate ſhall be ſo diſpoſed, there can in that Caſe be no treating with a Prerogative that ſwalloweth all the Right the People can pretend to; and if they have no Right to any thing of which they are poſſeſſed, it is a *Jeſt* and not a *Bargain*, to obſerve any *Formality* in parting with it.

A Claim may be ſo ſtated, that by the *Power* and *Advantage* of *interpreting*, it ſhall have ſuch a murthering Eye, that if it looketh upon a Law, like a *Baſiliſk*, it ſhall ſtrike it dead:

Where

Where is the Poſſibility of treating, where *ſuch a Right is aſſumed*? Nay, let it be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a Claim is not well founded in Law, and that upon a free Diſquiſition it could not be made out; yet even in this Caſe, none that are well adviſed will conclude a Bargain, till it is *fully ſtated* and *cleared*, or indeed ſo much as *engage* in a *Treaty*, till by way of Preliminary, all *Poſſibility* ſhall be remov'd of any Trouble or Diſpute.

XVI. There is a *collateral* Circumſtance in making a Contract, which yet deſerveth to be conſidered, as much as any thing that belongeth to it; and that is the *Character* and *Figure* of the *Parties* contracting, if they treat only by *themſelves*; and if by *others*, the *Qualifications* of the *Inſtruments* they employ.

The *Propoſer* eſpecially muſt not be ſo low, as to want *Credit*; nor ſo raiſed, as to carry him above the Reach of *ordinary Dealing*. In the firſt there is *Scandal*, in the other *Danger*. There is no Rule without ſome Exception, but generally ſpeaking the *Means* ſhould be ſuited to the *End*; and ſince all Men who treat, pretend an *equal Bargain*, it is deſirable that there may be *Equality* in the *Perſons*, as well as in the *Thing*.

The *Manner* of doing Things hath ſuch an Influence upon the Matter, that Men may gueſs at the End, by the Inſtruments that are uſed to obtain it, who are a very good *Direction* how far to rely upon, or ſuſpect the *Sincerity* of that

that which is propoſed. An Abſurdity in the way of *carrying on* a Treaty, in any one Circumſtance, if it is very groſs, is enough to perſuade a thinking Man to break off, and take warning from ſuch an ill Appearance. Some things are ſo glaring, that it is impoſſible not to *ſee*, and conſequently not to *ſuſpect* them; as ſuppoſe, in a private Caſe, there ſhould be a Treaty of *Marriage* between two Honourable Families, and the propoſing Side ſhould think fit to ſend a *Woman* that had been *carted*, to perſuade the *young* Lady to an Approbation and Conſent; the *Unfitneſs* of the *Meſſenger* muſt naturally diſpoſe the other Party to *diſtruſt* the *Meſſage*, and to reſiſt the Temptation of the *beſt Match* that could be offered, when conveyed by *that Hand*, and uſher'd in by ſuch a *diſcouraging Preliminary*.

In a *publick* Inſtance, the Suſpicion ariſing from *unfit Mediators* ſtill groweth more reaſonable, in Proportion as the *Conſequence* is much *greater* of being deceived. If a *Jew* ſhould be employed to ſolicit all Sorts of *Chriſtians* to unite and agree, the *Contrariety* of his *Profeſſion* would not allow Men to ſtay till they heard his Arguments; they would conclude from his *Religion*, that either the Man himſelf was *mad*, or that he thought thoſe to be ſo, whom he had the Impudence to endeavour to perſuade.

Or ſuppoſe an *Adamite* ſhould be very ſolicitous and active in all Places, and with all Sorts of Perſons, to ſettle the *Church* of *England*

land in particular, and a fair *Liberty* of *Conſcience* for all Diſſenters; though nothing in the World has more to be ſaid for it than *Naked Truth*; yet if ſuch a Man ſhould run up and down without Cloaths, let his Arguments be never ſo good, or his Commiſſion never ſo Authentick, his *Figure* would be ſuch a *Contradiction* to his *Buſineſs*, that how ſerious ſoever that might be in it ſelf, his *Interpoſition* would make a Jeſt of it.

Though it ſhould not go ſo far as this, yet if Men have *Contrarieties* in their way of living not to be reconciled; as if they ſhould pretend infinite *Zeal* for *Liberty*, and at that time be in great *Favour*, and *employed* by thoſe who will not endure it.

If they are affectedly *ſingular*, and conform to the Generality of the World in no *one* thing, but in playing the *Knave*.

If *Demonſtration* is a familiar Word with them, moſt eſpecially where the thing is *impoſſible*.

If they quote *Authority* to ſupply their Want of *Senſe*, and juſtify the Value of their Arguments, not by *Reaſon*, but by their being *paid* for them, (in which, by the way, thoſe who pay them have probably a very melancholy *Equivalent*.) If they brandiſh a *Prince*'s *Word*, like a Sword in a Crowd, to make way for their own *Impertinence*; and in Diſpute, as Criminals formerly fled to the *Statue* of the Prince for Sanctuary; if they ſhould now, when baffled, creep under the Protection of a King's

King's *Name*, where out of Reſpect they are no farther to be purſued.

In theſe Caſes, though the Propoſitions ſhould be really good, they will be corrupted by paſſing through ſuch *Conduits*, and it would be a ſufficient *Miſtake* to enter into a *Treaty*; but it would be little leſs than *Madneſs* from ſuch Hands to expect an *Equivalent*.

XVII. Having touched upon theſe Particulars, as neceſſary in order to the ſtating the Nature of an *Equal Bargain*, and the Circumſtances belonging to it; let it now be examined, in two or three Inſtances, what Things are not to be admitted by way of Contract, to paſs under the Name of an *Equivalent*.

Firſt, Though it will be allowed, that in the general Corruption of Mankind, which will not admit *Juſtice* alone to be a ſufficient Tie to make good a Contract, that a *Puniſhment*, added for the Breach of it, is a *fitting*, or rather a *neceſſary* Circumſtance; yet it does not follow, that in *all* Caſes a great *Penalty* upon the Party Offending, is an *abſolute* and an *entire Security*. It muſt be conſidered in every particular Caſe, how far the *Circumſtances* may rationally lead a Man to rely more or leſs upon it.

In a private Inſtance, the *Penalty* inflicted upon the Breach of Contract muſt be, firſt, ſuch a one as the Party injured can enforce; and ſecondly, ſuch a one as he will enforce, when it is in his Power. If

If the *Offending Party* is in a Capacity of hindring the other from bringing the Vengeance of the Law upon him. If he hath *Strength* or *Privilege* ſufficient to over-rule the Letter of the Contract; in that Caſe, a *Penalty* is but a *Word*, there is no Conſequence belonging to it. Secondly, The *Forfeiture* or *Puniſhment* muſt be ſuch as the Man aggrieved will *take*. For Example: If upon a Bargain, one of the Parties ſhall ſtipulate to ſubject himſelf, in Caſe of his *Failure*, to have his *Ears* cut, or his *Noſe* ſlit by the other, with *Security* given, that he ſhall not be proſecuted for *executing* this Part of the Agreement; the *Penalty* is no doubt heavy enough to diſcourage a Man from breaking his Contract: But on the other Side, it is of ſuch a Kind, that the other, how much ſoever he may be provoked, will not in cold Blood care to inflict it. Such an extravagant Clauſe would ſeem to be made only for *Shew* and *Sound*, and no Man would think himſelf ſafer by a thing which one way or other is ſure to prove *ineffectual*.

In a *publick* Caſe; ſuppoſe in a Government ſo conſtituted, that a *Law* may be made in the Nature of a *Bargain*, it is in it ſelf no more than a *dead Letter*, the *Life* is given to it by the *Execution* of what it containeth; ſo that let in it ſelf be never ſo perfect, it dependeth upon thoſe who are entruſted with ſeeing it *obſerved*.

If it is in any Country where the chief *Magiſtrate* chuſeth the *Judges*, and the *Judges* interpret

terpret the *Laws*, a *Penalty* in any one particular Law can have no Effect but what is *precarious*; it may have a *loud Voice* to threaten, but it has not an *Hand* to give a Blow; for as long as the Governing Power is in Poſſeſſion of this Prerogative, let who will chuſe the *Meat*, if they chuſe the *Cooks*, it is they that will give the *Taſte* to it. So that it is clear, that the *Rigor* of a *Penalty* will not, in all Caſes, *fix* a *Bargain*, neither is it univerſally a true Poſition, that the Increaſe of *Puniſhment* for the Breach of a new *Law*, is an *Equivalent* for the Conſent to part with the old one.

XVIII. In moſt Bargains there is a Reference to the *Time to come*, which is therefore to be conſidered, as well as that which cometh within the Compaſs of the *preſent* Valuation.

Where the *Party contracting* hath not a *full Power* to diſpoſe what belongeth to him or them in *Reverſion*, who ſhall ſucceed after him in his Right, he cannot make any Part of what is ſo limited to be the *Condition* of the Contract. Farther, he cannot enjoin the *Heir* or *Succeſſor* to forbear the Exerciſe of any Right that is *inherent* to him, as he is a Man; neither can he *reſtrain* him, without his own Conſent, from doing any Act which in it ſelf is *lawful*, and liable to no *Objection*. For Example: A *Father* cannot ſtipulate with any other Man, that in Conſideration of ſuch a Thing done, or to be done, his *Son* ſhall never *marry*; becauſe Marriage is an Inſtitution *Eſtabliſhed*

bliſhed by the Laws of God and Man, and therefore no Body can be ſo reſtrained by any Power from doing *ſuch* an Act, when he thinketh fit, being *warranted* by an Authority that is not to be controuled.

XIX. Now, as there are *Rights inherent* in Mens Perſons in their *ſingle Capacities*, there are *Rights* as much *fixed* to the *Body Politick*, which is a Creature that never dieth. For Inſtance: There can be no Government without a *Supreme Power*; that Power is not always in the ſame Hands, it is in *different* Shapes and Dreſſes: but ſtill where-ever it is lodged, it muſt be *Unlimited*: It hath a Juriſdiction over every thing elſe, but it cannot have it above it ſelf. *Supreme Power* can no more be *limited*, than *Infinity* can be *meaſured*; becauſe it ceaſeth to be the Thing, its very being is diſſolv'd, when any Bounds can be put to it.

Where this Supreme Power is *mixed* or *divided*, the *Shape* only differeth, the *Argument* is ſtill the ſame.

The preſent State of *Venice* cannot reſtrain thoſe who ſucceed them in the ſame Power, from having an entire and unlimited Sovereignty. They may indeed make *preſent Laws*, which ſhall retrench their *preſent Power*, if they are ſo diſpoſed; and thoſe *Laws*, if not *Repealed* by the ſame *Authority* that Enacted them, are to be obſerved by the ſucceeding Senate, till they think fit to abrogate them, and no longer. For if the Supreme Power ſhall ſtill

reſide in the Senate, perhaps compoſed of other Men, or of other Minds, (which will be ſufficient) the neceſſary Conſequence is, that one Senate muſt have as much Right to *alter* ſuch a Law, as another could have to *make* it.

XX. Suppoſe the *Supreme Power* in any State ſhould make a *Law*, to enjoin all ſubſequent Law-makers to take an *Oath* never to alter it, it would produce theſe following Abſurdities.

Firſt, All *Supreme Power* being inſtituted to promote the *Safety* and *Benefit*, and to prevent the *Prejudice* and *Danger* which may fall upon thoſe who live under the *Protection* of it; the *Conſequence* of ſuch an *Oath* would be, that all Men who are ſo truſted ſhall take God to Witneſs, that ſuch a Law once made, being judged at that *time* to be *advantageous* for the Publick, though afterwards, by the Viciſſitude of Times, or the Variety of Accidents or Intereſts, it ſhould plainly appear to them to be *deſtructive*, they will ſuffer it to have its Courſe, and will never Repeal it.

Secondly, If there could in any Nation be found a *Set* of *Men*, who having a *Part* in the *Supreme* Legiſlative *Power*, ſhould, as much as in them lieth, betray their Country by ſuch a criminal Engagement, ſo directly *oppoſite* to the *Nature* of their *Power*, and to the *Truſt* repoſed in them: If theſe Men have their Power only for *Life*, when they are dead, ſuch an Oath can operate no farther; and tho' that would be too *long* a Leaſe for the Life of ſuch a *Mon-*

a *Monſter* as an *Oath* ſo compoſed, yet it muſt then certainly give up the Ghoſt: It could bind none but the firſt Makers of it, another Generation would never be ty'd up by it.

Thirdly, In thoſe Countries where the *Supreme Aſſemblies* are not conſtant *ſtanding* Courts, but called together upon *Occaſions*, and compoſed of ſuch as the People chuſe for that *Time* only, with a Truſt and Character that remaineth no longer with them, than till that Aſſembly is *regularly diſſolved*; ſuch an Oath taken by the Members of a Senate, Diet, or other Aſſembly ſo choſen, can have very little Effect, becauſe at the next Meeting there may be quite *another Set of Men*, who will be under no *Obligation* of that Kind. The Eternity intended to that Law by thoſe that made it, will be cut off by *new Men* who ſhall ſucceed them in their Power, if they have a *differing Taſte*, or another *Intereſt*.

XXI. To put it yet farther; Suppoſe a Clauſe in ſuch a Law, that it ſhall be *criminal* in the laſt degree for any Man choſen in a ſubſequent Aſſembly, to propoſe the *Repealing* of it; and ſince nothing can be *Enacted* which is not firſt *Propoſed*, by this Means it ſeemeth as if a Law might be Created which ſhould never *Die*: But let this be examined.

Firſt, Such a Clauſe would be ſo *deſtructive* to the *Being* of ſuch a Conſtitution, as that it would be as reaſonable to ſay, that a King had Right to *give* or *ſell* his Kingdom to a *Foreign Prince*,

Prince, as that any Number of Men who are *entruſted* with the Supreme Power, or any Part of it, ſhould have a Right to *impoſe* ſuch Shackles upon the Liberty of thoſe who are to *ſucceed* them in the ſame *Truſt*. The Ground of that *Truſt* is, that every Man who is choſen into ſuch an Aſſembly, is to do all that in him lieth for the *Good* of thoſe who choſe him: The *Engliſh* of ſuch a Clauſe would be, that he is not to do his beſt for thoſe that choſe him, becauſe, though he ſhould be *convinc'd* that it might be very *fatal* to continue that *Law*, and therefore very neceſſary to *repeal* it, yet he muſt not repeal it, becauſe it is made a *Crime*, and attended with a *Penalty*.

But Secondly, To ſhew the *Emptineſs*, as well as *Injuſtice* of ſuch a Clauſe; it is clear that although ſuch an Invaſion of Right ſhould be impoſed; it will never be obeyed. There will only be *Deformity* in the *Monſter*, it will neither *ſting* nor *bite*. Such *Lawgivers* would only have the Honour of attempting a *Contradiction*, which can never have any Succeſs; for as ſuch a *Law* in it ſelf would be a *Madneſs*, ſo the *Penalty* would be a *Jeſt*; which may be thus made out.

XXII. A Law that carrieth in it ſelf *Reaſon* enough to ſupport it, is ſo far from wanting the *Protection* of ſuch a Clauſe, on from *needing* to take ſuch an *extraordinary Receipt* for a long Life, that the *admitting* it muſt certainly be the *likelieſt* and the *ſhorteſt* way to *deſtroy*

it. Such a Clauſe in a Law muſt imply an Opinion, that the *greateſt* Part of Mankind is againſt it, ſince it is impoſſible ſuch an Exorbitance ſhould be done for its *own Sake*; the End of it muſt be to force Men by a *Penalty* to that which they could not be *perſuaded* to, whilſt their Reaſon is left at Liberty. This Poſition being granted, which I think can hardly be denied, put the Caſe that a Law ſhould be made with this imaginary Clauſe of *Immortality*; after which another Aſſembly is choſen, and if the Majority of the Electors ſhall be againſt this Law, the greater Part of the *Elected* muſt be ſo too, if the Choice is fair and regular; which muſt be preſumed, ſince the Suppoſition of the contrary is not to come within this Argument. When theſe Men ſhall meet, the *Majority* will be viſible before-hand, of thoſe who are againſt ſuch a Law; ſo that there will be no *Hazard* to any ſingle Man in propoſing the *Repeal* of it; when he cannot be *puniſhed* but by the *Majority*; and he hath ſuch a Kind of Aſſurance, as cometh near a Demonſtration, that the greater *Number* will be of his Mind, and conſequently that for their own Sakes they will ſecure him from any Danger.

For theſe Reaſons, whenever, in order to the making a Bargain, a Propoſition is advanced to make a *new Law*, which is to tie up thoſe who neither can nor will be *bound* by it, it may be a good *Jeſt*, but it will never be a good *Equivalent*.

XXIII. In

XXIII. In the laſt place, let it be examined how far a *Promiſe* ought to be taken for a *Security* in a Bargain.

There is a great Variety of Methods for the *Security* of thoſe that deal, according to their *Diſpoſitions* and *Intereſts*; ſome are *binding*, others inducing Circumſtances, and are to be ſo diſtinguiſhed.

Firſt, *Ready Payment* is without Exception; ſo of that there can be no Diſpute: In Default of that, the good *Opinion* Men may have of one another, is a great Ingredient to ſupply the Want of *immediate* Performances. Where the Truſt is grounded upon *Inclination* only, the Generoſity is not always *return'd*; but where it ſpringeth from a long *Experience*, it is a better Foundation; and yet that is not always *ſecure*. In ordinary Dealing, one *Promiſe* may be an *Equivalent* to another; but it is not ſo for a thing actually granted or conveyed, eſpecially if the thing required in Exchange for it, is of great *Value*, either in it ſelf, or in its Conſequences. A bare Promiſe, as a ſingle *Security* in ſuch a Caſe, is not an equal Propoſal; if it is offered by way of *Addition*, it generally giveth Cauſe to doubt the Title is crazy, where ſo ſlender a thing is brought in to be a *Supplement*.

XXIV. The *Earneſt* of making good a Promiſe, muſt be ſuch a Behaviour *preceding*, as may encourage the Party to whom it is made

to depend upon it. Where inſtead of that, there hath been Want of *Kindneſs*, and which is worſe, an *Invaſion* of *Right*, a Promiſe hath no perſuading Force; and till the *Objection* to ſuch a Proceeding is forgotten, (which can only be the Work of Time) and the Skin is a little grown over the tender Part, the Wound muſt not be touch'd. There muſt be ſome *Intermiſſion* at leaſt to abate the Smart of unkind *Uſage*, or elſe a Promiſe in the Eye of the Party injured is ſo far from ſtrengthning a Security, that it raiſeth more *Doubts*, and giveth more juſtifiable Cauſe to ſuſpect it.

A *Word* is not like a Bone, that being broken and well ſet again, is ſaid to be ſometimes ſtronger in that very Part: It is far from being ſo in a *Word* given, and not made good. Every ſingle Act either *weakneth* or *improveth* our Credit with other Men; and as an Habit of being *juſt* to our Word will *confirm*, ſo an Habit of too freely *diſpenſing* with it muſt neceſſarily *deſtroy*. A *Promiſe* hath its Effect to perſuade a Man to lay ſome Weight upon it, where the *Promiſer* hath not only the *Power*, but may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have the *Will* of performing it; and further, that there be no *viſible Intereſt* of the Party promiſing to excuſe himſelf from it, or to evade it.

All Obligations are *comparative*, and where they ſeem to be oppoſite, or between the greater and the leſſer, which of them ought to have Precedence in all Reſpects, every Man is apt to be his own *Judge*.

XXV. If

XXV. If it ſhould fall out, that the *Promiſer* with full *Intent* at the time to perform, might, by the Interpoſitinn of new *Arguments*, or differing *Advice*, think himſelf oblig'd to turn the Matter of Conſcience on the other Side, and ſhould look upon it to be much a greater Fault to keep his Word, than to break it; ſuch a Belief will untie the ſtricteſt Promiſe that can be made; and though the Party thus abſolving himſelf, ſhould do it without the Mixture or Temptation of *private Intereſt*, being moved to it merely by his *Conſcience*, as then informed; yet how far ſoever that might diminiſh the *Fault* in him, it would in no degree leſſen the *Inconveniences* to the Party who is diſappointed, by the Breach of an Engagement upon which he relied.

XXVI. A *Promiſe* is to be underſtood in the plain and natural Senſe of the Words, and to be ſure not in his who made it, if it was given as Part of a Bargain. That would be like giving a Man Power to raiſe the Value of his *Money* in the Payment of his *Debt*, by which, tho' he paid but half or leſs, he might pretend, according to the Letter, to have made good the Contract.

The *Power* of interpreting a Promiſe, entirely taketh away the *Virtue* of it. A Merchant who ſhould once aſſume that Privilege, would ſave himſelf the Trouble of making any more Bargains.

It is ſtill worſe, if this *Juriſdiction* over a Man's *Promiſe* ſhould be lodg'd in Hands that have Power to ſupport ſuch an *extraordinary Claim*; and if in other Caſes, forbearing to deal upon thoſe Terms is *adviſable*, in this it becometh abſolutely *neceſſary*.

XXVII. There muſt in all Reſpects be a full Liberty to claim a Promiſe, to make it reaſonable to take it in any Part of Payment; elſe it would be like agreeing for a *Rent*, and at the ſame time making it *criminal* to *demand* it.

A *Superiority* of *Dignity* or *Power* in the Party promiſing, maketh it a more tender Thing for the other Party to treat upon that Security. The firſt maketh it a *nice* thing to *claim*, the latter maketh it a *difficult* thing to *obtain*.

In ſome Caſes, a *Promiſe* is in the Nature of a *Covenant*, and then between equal Parties the Breach of it will bear a *Suit*; but where the *Greatneſs* of the Promiſer is very much raiſed above the Level of *Equality*, there is no Forfeiture to be taken. It is ſo far from the Party grieved his being able to *ſue* or *recover Damages*, that he will not be allowed to *explain* or *expoſtulate*; and inſtead of his being relieved againſt the Breach of Promiſe, he will run the Hazard of being *puniſhed* for Breach of good Manners. Such a Difficulty is putting all or Part of the Payment in the Fire, where Men muſt burn their Fingers before they can come at it.

That

That cannot properly be called *good Payment*, which the Party to whom it is due may not receive with *Eaſe* and *Safety*. It was a King's Brother of *England* who refuſed to lend the Pope Money, for this Reaſon, *That he would never take the Bond of one upon whom he could not diſtrain.*

The Argument is ſtill ſtronger againſt the Validity of a Promiſe, when the Contract is made between a *Prince* and a *Subject*. The very offering a King's Word in Mortgage, is rather a *threatning* in Caſe of Refuſal, than an *inducing* Argument to accept it: It is unfair at firſt, and by that giveth greater Cauſe to be cautious, eſpecially if a thing of that *Value* and *Dignity* as a King's Word ought to be, ſhould be put into the Hands of *State-Brokers* to ſtrike up a Bargain with it.

XXVIII. When God Almighty maketh Covenants with Mankind, his *Promiſe* is a ſufficient *Security*, notwithſtanding his *Superiority* and his *Power*; becauſe firſt, he can neither *Err* nor do *Injuſtice*. It is the only Exception to his Omnipotence, that by the Perfection of his *Being* he is incapacitated to do *Wrong*. Secondly, At the Inſtant of his *Promiſe*, by the Extent of his Foreſight, which cannot fail, there is no room left for the Poſſibility of any thing to intervene, which might change his Mind. Laſtly, He is above the receiving either *Benefit* or *Inconvenience*, and therefore can have

have no *Intereſt* or *Temptation* to vary from his Word, when once he hath granted it.

Now though Princes are God's Vicegerents, yet their Commiſſion not being ſo large, as that theſe *Qualifications* are devolved to them, it is quite another Caſe; and ſince the offering a Security implieth it to be examined by the Party to whom it is propoſed, it muſt not be taken ill that Objections are made to it, even though the Prince himſelf ſhould be the immediate *Propoſer*.

Let a familiar Caſe be put: Suppoſe a Prince, tempted by a Paſſion too ſtrong for him to reſiſt, ſhould deſcend ſo as to promiſe Marriage to one of his Subjects; and as Men are naturally in great haſte upon ſuch Occaſions, ſhould preſs to take Poſſeſſion before the *neceſſary Forms* could be complied with; would the poor Lady's *Scruples* be called *criminal*, for not taking the Security of the Royal Word? Or would her *Allegiance* be tainted by her *reſiſting* the Sacred Perſon of her Sovereign, becauſe he was impatient of Delay? Courteſy in this Caſe might perſuade her to accept it, if ſhe was ſo diſpoſed; but ſure the juſt *Exerciſe* of Power can never claim it.

XXIX. There is one Caſe, where it is more particularly a *Duty* to uſe very great Caution in accepting the Security of a Promiſe, and that is, when Men are authorized and truſted by others to act for them. This putteth them under much greater *Reſtraints* than thoſe who are

are at Liberty to treat for themſelves. It is *lawful*, though it is not *prudent* for any Man to make an ill Bargain for himſelf; but it is neither the one nor the other, where the Party contracting treateth on behalf of another, by whom he is entruſted. Men who will unwarily accept an ill *Security*, if it is for themſelves, forfeit their own Diſcretion, and undergo the Penalty, but they are not reſponſible to any body elſe. They lie under the Mortification and the Loſs of committing the Error, by which, though they may expoſe their *Judgment* to ſome *Cenſure*, yet their *Morality* ſuffers no *Reproach* by it.

But thoſe who are deputed by others to treat for them, upon Terms of beſt *Advantage*, though the *Confidence* placed in them ſhould prevent the putting any *Limits* to their Power in their Commiſſion; yet the *Condition* implied, if not expreſſed, is, that the Perſons ſo truſted ſhall neither make an ill *Bargain*, nor accept a ſlight *Security*.

The Obligation is yet more binding, when the Truſt is of a Publick Nature. The Aggravation of diſappointing a *Body* of Men that rely upon them, carrieth the Fault as high as it can go; and perhaps no Crime of any Kind can outdo ſuch a deliberate *Breach* of *Truſt*, or would more juſtly make Men forfeit the Protection of *Human Society*.

XXXI. I will add one thing more upon this Head, which is, that it is not always a true

Propoſition, That 'tis ſafe to rely upon a Promiſe, if at the Time of making it, it is the *Intereſt* of the *Promiſer* to make it good. This, though many times it is a good *Inducement*, yet it hath theſe Exceptions to it.

First, If the Propoſer hath at other times gone plainly againſt his viſible *Intereſt*, the Argument will turn the other way, and his former Miſtakes are ſo many *Warnings* to others, not to come within the Danger of any more: Let the *Inducements* to thoſe Miſtakes be never ſo great and generous, that does not alter the Nature, they are *Miſtakes* ſtill.

Intereſt is an uncertain thing: It goeth and cometh, and varieth according to Times and Circumſtances; as good build upon a *Quick-ſand*, as upon a Preſumption that *Intereſt* ſhall not alter. Where are the Men ſo diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of Mankind, that it is impoſſible for them to miſtake their *Intereſt*? Who are they that have ſuch an Exemption from human Frailty, as that it can never happen to them not to ſee their Intereſt for Want of Underſtanding, or not to leap over it by Exceſs of Zeal?

Above all, *Princes* are the moſt liable to Miſtake, not out of any *Defect* in their Nature, which might put them under ſuch an unfortunate Diſtinction; quite contrary, the Blood they derive from wiſe and great Anceſtors, does rather diſtinguiſh them on the better Side: Beſides that, their great Character and Office of Governing giveth a Noble Exer-

ciſe

ciſe to their Reaſon, which can very hardly fail to raiſe and improve it. But there is one Circumſtance annexed to their Glorious Calling, which in this Reſpect is ſufficient to outweigh all thoſe Advantages; it is, that *Mankind*, divided in moſt things elſe, agree in this, to conſpire in their Endeavours to deceive and miſlead them; which maketh it above the Power of Human Underſtanding, to be ſo exactly guarded as never to admit a Surprize; and the higheſt Applauſe that could ever yet be given to the greateſt Men that ever wore a Crown, is, That they *were no oftner deceiv'd.*

Thus I have ventured to lay down my Thoughts of the *Nature* of a *Bargain*, and the due *Circumſtances* belonging to an *Equivalent*; and will now conclude with this ſhort Word: "Where *Diſtruſting* may be the Cauſe "of provoking **Anger**, and *Truſting* may be "the Cauſe of bringing **Ruin**, *the Choice is* "*too eaſy to need the being explained.*

A LETTER TO A DISSENTER,

Upon Occasion of

His MAJESTY's

Late Gracious Declaration of INDULGENCE.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCXVII.

A

LETTER

TO A

DISSENTER

Upon Occasion of

His MAJESTY's

Late Gracious Declaration of

INDULGENCE.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCXVII.

A LETTER TO A DISSENTER,

Upon Occaſion of His MAJESTY's late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence.

SIR,

SINCE Addreſſes are in Faſhion, give me Leave to make one to you. This is neither the Effect of Fear, Intereſt, or Reſentment; therefore you may be ſure it is ſincere: and for that Reaſon it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have Power enough to convince, dependeth upon the Reaſons of which you are to judge; and upon your Preparation of Mind, to be perſwaded by

by Truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the leſs welcome, for coming from a friendly Hand, one whoſe Kindneſs to you is not leſſened by Difference of Opinion, and who will not let his Thoughts for the Publick be ſo tied or confined to this or that Sub-diviſion of Proteſtants, as to ſtifle the Charity, which beſides all other Arguments, is at this time become neceſſary to preſerve us.

I am neither Surprized nor Provoked, to ſee that in the Condition you were put into by the Laws, and the ill Circumſtances you lay under, by having the Excluſion and Rebellion laid to your Charge, you were deſirous to make your ſelves leſs uneaſy and obnoxious to Authority. Men who are ſore, run to the neareſt Remedy with too much haſte to conſider all the Conſequences: Grains of Allowance are to be given, where Nature giveth ſuch ſtrong Influences. When to Men under Sufferings it offereth Eaſe, the preſent Pain will hardly allow Time to examine the Remedies; and the ſtrongeſt Reaſon can hardly gain a fair Audience from our Mind, whilſt ſo poſſeſſed, till the Smart is a little allayed.

I do not know whether the Warmth that naturally belongeth to new Friendſhips, may not make it a harder Task for me to perſuade you. It is like telling Lovers, in the Beginning of their Joys, that they will in a little Time have an End. Such an unwelcome

Stile doth not eaſily find Credit: But I will ſuppoſe you are not ſo far gone in your new Paſſion, but that you will hear ſtill; and therefore I am under the leſs Diſcouragement, when I offer to your Conſideration two Things; the *Firſt* is, The Cauſe you have to ſuſpect your new Friends. The *Second*, The Duty incumbent upon you, in Chriſtianity and Prudence, not to hazard the Publick Safety, neither by Deſire of Eaſe, nor of Revenge.

To the *Firſt*, Conſider that notwithſtanding the ſmooth Language which is now put on to engage you, theſe new Friends did not make you their Choice, but their Refuge: They have ever made their Firſt Courtſhips to the Church of *England*, and when they were rejected there, they made their Application to you in the Second place. The Inſtances of this might be given in all Times. I do not repeat them, becauſe whatſoever is unneceſſary, muſt be tedious; the Truth of this Aſſertion being ſo plain, as not to admit a Diſpute. You cannot therefore reaſonably flatter your ſelves, that there is any Inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any Quarter, but to uſher in Liberty for themſelves under that Shelter. I refer you to Mr. *Coleman's Letters*, and to the *Journals* of *Parliament*, where you may be convinced, if you can be ſo miſtaken as to doubt; nay, at this very Hour they can hardly forbear, in the height of their Courtſhip, to let fall hard Words of you. So

little

little is Nature to be reſtrained; it will ſtart out ſometimes, diſdaining to ſubmit to the Uſurpation of Art and Intereſt.

This Alliance, between *Liberty* and *Infallibility*, is bringing together the Two moſt contrary Things that are in the World. The Church of *Rome* doth not only diſlike the allowing Liberty, but by its Principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expreſſly forbid to the *Mahometans*, than giving Hereticks Liberty to the *Papiſts*: They are no more able to make good their Vows to you, than Men married before, and their Wife alive, can confirm their Contract with another. The Continuance of their Kindneſs, would be a Habit of Sin, of which they are to repent; and their Abſolution is to be had upon no other Terms, than their Promiſe to deſtroy you. You are therefore to be hugg'd now, only that you may be the better ſqueezed at another Time. There muſt be ſomething extraordinary, when the Church of *Rome* ſetteth up Bills, and offereth Plaiſters for Tender Conſciences. By all that hath hitherto appeared, her Skill in Chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick Hand to cut off Limbs; but ſhe is the worſt at healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

To come ſo quick from another Extreme, is ſuch an unnatural Motion, that you ought to be upon your Guard. The other Day you were *Sons of Belial*, now you are *Angels of Light*. This is a violent Change, and it will be fit for

you,

you to pauſe upon it before you believe it: If your Features are not altered, neither is their Opinion of you, whatever may be pretended. Do you believe leſs than you did, that there is Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*? Sure you do not. See then how they treat both in Words and Writing, thoſe who entertain that Opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconſiſtent their Favour is with this ſingle Article, except they give you a Diſpenſation for this too, and by a *Non Obſtante*, ſecure you that they will not think the worſe of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes. Popery now is the only Friend to Liberty, and the known Enemy to Perſecution: The Men of *Taunton* and *Tiverton* are above all other Eminent for Loyalty: The *Quakers*, from being declared by the Papiſts not to be Chriſtians, are now made Favourites, and taken into their particular Protection; they are on a ſudden grown the moſt Accompliſhed Men of the Kingdom in good Breeding, and give Thanks with the beſt Grace in double-refined Langnage. So that I ſhould not wonder, though a Man of that Perſuaſion, in ſpite of his Hat, ſhould be Maſter of the Ceremonies. Not to ſay harſher Words, theſe are ſuch very new Things, that it is impoſſible not to ſuſpend our Belief, till by a little more Experience we may be inform'd whether they are Realities or Apparitions. We have been under ſhameful Miſtakes, if theſe Opinions are true; but for the preſent we

we are apt to be incredulous, except that we could be convinced, that the Peieft's Words in this Caſe too are able to make ſuch a ſudden and effectual Change; and that their Power is not limited to the Sacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the Nature of all other Things, as often as they are ſo diſpoſed.

Let me now ſpeak of the Inſtruments of your Friendſhip, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford Matter of Suſpicion. No Sharpneſs is to be mingled, where Healing only is intended; ſo nothing will be ſaid to expoſe particular Men, how ſtrong ſoever the Temptation may be, or how clear the Proofs to make it out. A Word or two in general, for your better Caution, ſhall ſuffice. Suppoſe then, for Argument's Sake, that the Mediators of this new Alliance ſhould be ſuch as have been formerly employ'd in Treaties of the ſame Kind, and there detected to have acted by Order, and to have been impower'd to give Encouragements and Rewards; Would not this be an Argument to ſuſpect them?

If they ſhould plainly be under Engagements to one Side, their Arguments to the other ought to be received accordingly: Their fair Pretences are to be looked upon as Part of their Commiſſion, which may not improbably give them a Diſpenſation in the Caſe of Truth, when it may bring a Prejudice upon the Service of thoſe by whom they are employed.

If there ſhould be Men, who having formerly had Means and Authority to perſuade by Secular

Secular Arguments, have, in purſuance of that Power, ſprinkled Money amongſt the Diſſenting Miniſters; and if thoſe very Men ſhould now have the ſame Authority, practiſe the ſame Methods, and diſburſe where they cannot otherwiſe perſuade; it ſeemeth to me to be rather an Evidence, than a Preſumption of the Deceit.

If there ſhould be Miniſters amongſt you, who by having fallen under Temptations of this Kind, are in ſome Sort engaged to continue their Frailty, by the Awe they are in leſt it ſhould be expoſed; the Perſuaſions of theſe unfortunate Men muſt ſure have the leſs Force, and their Arguments, though never ſo ſpecious, are to be ſuſpected, when they come from Men who have mortgaged themſelves to ſevere Creditors, that expect a rigorous Obſervation of the Contract, let it be never ſo unwarrantable.

If theſe, or any others, ſhould at this time preach up Anger and Vengeance againſt the Church of *England*; may it not without Injuſtice be ſuſpected, that a thing ſo plainly out of Seaſon ſpringeth rather from Corruption than Miſtake; and that thoſe who act this cholerick Part, do not believe themſelves, but only purſue higher Directions, and endeavour to make good that Part of their Contract, which obligeth them, upon a Forfeiture, to make uſe of their inflaming Eloquence? They might apprehend their Wages would be retrench'd, if they ſhould be moderate: And therefore, whilſt Violence is their Intereſt,

thoſe

thoſe who have not the ſame Arguments, have no Reaſon to follow ſuch a partial Example.

If there ſhould be Men, who by the Load of their Crimes againſt the Government, have been bowed down to comply with it againſt their Conſcience; who by incurring the Want of a Pardon, have drawn upon themſelves a Neceſſity of an entire Reſignation: Such Men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themſelves, when they have diſcharged their unwelcome Taſk, will be inwardly glad that their forced Endeavours do not ſucceed, and are pleaſed when Men reſiſt their Inſinuations; which are far from being voluntary or ſincere, but are ſqueezed out of them by the Weight of their being ſo obnoxious.

If in the Heighth of this great Dearneſs, by comparing Things, it ſhould happen, that at this Inſtant, there is much a ſurer Friendſhip with thoſe who are ſo far from allowing Liberty, that they allow no Living to a Proteſtant under them: Let the Scene lie in what Part of the World it will, the Argument will come Home, and ſure it will afford ſufficient Ground to ſuſpect. Apparent Contradictions muſt ſtrike us; neither Nature nor Reaſon can digeſt them: Self-Flattery, and the Deſire to deceive our ſelves, to gratify preſent Appetite, with all their Power, which is great, cannot get the better of ſuch broad Conviction, as ſome things carry along with them. Will you call theſe vain and empty Suſpicions? Have you been at all times

times so void of Fears and Jealousies, as to justify your being so unreasonably Valiant in having none upon this Occasion? Such an extraordinary Courage at this unseasonable Time, to say no more, is too dangerous a Virtue to be commended.

If then, for these and a thousand other Reasons, there is Cause to suspect, sure your new Friends are not to dictate to you, or advise you. For Instance: The Addresses that fly abroad every Week, and murther us with *another to the same*; the first Draughts are made by those who are not very proper to be Secretaries to the Protestant Religion: and it is your Part only to write them out fairer again.

Strange! that you who have been formerly so much against *Set Forms*, should now be content the Priests should indite for you. The Nature of Thanks is an unavoidable Consequence of being pleased or obliged; they grow in the Heart, and from thence shew themselves either in Looks, Speech, Writing, or Action. No Man was ever thankful because he was bid to be so, but because he had, or thought he had some Reason for it. If then there is Cause in this Case to pay such extravagant Acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking such Pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done to tire all the Post-Horses with carrying Circular Letters to solicit that which would be done without any Trouble or Constraint.

If it is really in it ſelf ſuch a Favour, what needeth ſo much preſſing Men to be thankful, and with ſuch eager Circumſtances, that where Perſwaſions cannot delude, Threatnings are employed to fright them into a Compliance. Thanks muſt be voluntary, not only unconſtrained, but unſolicited, elſe they are either Trifles or Snares, that either ſignify Nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by thoſe that give them. If an Inference ſhould be made, That whoſoever thanketh the King for his Declaration, is by that engaged to juſtify it in Point of Law; it is a greater Stride, than I preſume all thoſe care to make who are perſuaded to Addreſs. If it ſhall be ſuppoſed, that all the Thankers will be Repealers of the TEST, whenever a *Parliament* ſhall meet; Such an Expectation is better prevented before, than diſappointed afterwards; and the ſureſt Way to avoid the lying under ſuch a Scandal, is not to do any Thing that may give a Colour to the Miſtake. Theſe beſpoken Thanks are little leſs improper than Love-Letters that were ſolicited by the Lady to whom they are to be directed: ſo, that beſides the little Ground there is to give them, the Manner of getting them doth extremely leſſen their Value. It might be wiſhed that you would have ſuppreſſed your Impatience, and have been content for the Sake of Religion, to enjoy it within your ſelves, without the Liberty of a publick Exerciſe, till a Parliament had allowed it; but

but ſince that could not be, and that the Artifices of ſome amongſt you have made uſe of the well-meant Zeal of the Generality, to draw them into this Miſtake; I am ſo far from blaming you with that Sharpneſs, which, perhaps, the Matter in ſtrictneſs would bear, that I am ready to err on the Side of the more gentle Conſtruction.

There is a great Difference between enjoying quietly the Advantages of an Act irregularly done by others, and the going about to ſupport it againſt the Laws in being; The Law is ſo Sacred, that no Treſpaſs againſt it is to be Defended; yet Frailties may in ſome Meaſure be excuſed, when they cannot be juſtified. The Deſire of enjoying a Liberty, from which Men have been ſo long reſtrained, may be a Temptation that their Reaſon is not at all times able to reſiſt. If in ſuch a Caſe ſome Objections are leapt over, indifferent Men will be more inclined to lament the Occaſion, than to fall too hard upon the Fault, whilſt it is covered with the Apology of a good Intention. But where, to reſcue your ſelves from the Severity of one Law, you give a Blow to all the Laws, by which your Religion and Liberty are to be protected; and inſtead of ſilently receiving the Benefit of this Indulgence, you ſet up for Advocates to ſupport it, you become voluntary Aggreſſors, and look like Council retained by the Prerogative againſt your old Friend *Magna*

Charta, who hath done nothing to deſerve her falling thus under your Diſpleaſure.

If the Caſe then ſhould be, that the Price expected from you for this Liberty, is giving up your Right in the Laws, ſure you will think twice before you go any farther in ſuch a loſing Bargain. After giving Thanks for the Breach of one Law, you loſe the Right of complaining of the Breach of all the reſt; you will not very well know how to defend your ſelves when you are preſſed; and having given up the Queſtion when it was for your Advantage, you cannot recall it when it ſhall be to your Prejudice. If you will ſet up at one time a Power to help you, which at another time, by Parity of Reaſon, ſhall be made uſe of to deſtroy you; you will neither be pitied, nor relieved againſt a Miſchief you draw upon your ſelves, by being ſo unreaſonably thankful. It is like calling in Auxiliaries to help, who are ſtrong enough to ſubdue you. In ſuch a Caſe your Complaints will come too late to be heard, and your Sufferings will raiſe Mirth inſtead of Compaſſion.

If you think, for your Excuſe, to expound your Thanks; ſo as to reſtrain them to this particular Caſe; others, for their Ends, will extend them farther: And in theſe differing Interpretations, that which is back'd by Authority will be the moſt likely to prevail; eſpecially when by the Advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the Argument, and that the Inferences from your own Conceſſions are very ſtrong and expreſs

against you. This is so far from being a groundless Supposition, that there was a late Instance of it the last Session of Parliament, in the House of Lords, where the first Thanks, tho' Things of Course, were interpreted to be the Approbation of the King's whole Speech, and a Restraint from the further Examination of any Part of it, though never so much disliked; and it was with Difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the Liberty of objecting to this mighty Prerogative of Dispensing, merely by this innocent and usual Piece of good Manners, by which no such thing could possibly be intended.

This sheweth, that some Bounds are to be put to your good Breeding, and that the Constitution of *England* is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a Compliment. Now that you have for some time enjoyed the Benefit of the End, it is time for you to look into the Danger of the Means: The same Reason that made you desirous to get Liberty, must make your solicitous to preserve it, so that the next Thought will naturally be, not to engage your self beyond Retreat; and to agree so far with the Principles of all Religion, as not to rely upon a Death-bed Repentance.

There are certain Periods of Time, which being once past, make all Cautions ineffectual, and all Remedies desperate. Our Understandings are apt to be hurried on by the fiery Heats, which, if not restrained in time, do not give us leave to look back, till it is too late. Con-

ſider this in the Caſe of your Anger againſt the Church of *England*, and take warning by their Miſtake in the ſame Kind, when after the late King's Reſtoration they preſerved ſo long the bitter Taſte of your rough Uſage to them in other Times, that it made them forget their Intereſt, and ſacrifice it to their Revenge.

Either you will blame this Proceeding in them, and for that Reaſon not follow it; or if you allow it, you have no Reaſon to be offended with them; ſo that you muſt either diſmiſs your Anger, or loſe your Excuſe; except you ſhould argue more partially than will be ſuppoſed of Men of your Morality and Underſtanding.

If you had now to do with thoſe rigid Prelates, who made it a Matter of Conſcience to give you the leaſt Indulgence, but kept you at an uncharitable Diſtance, and even to your moſt reaſonable Scruples continued ſtiff and inexorable, the Argument might be fairer on your Side; but ſince the common Danger has ſo laid open that Miſtake, that all the former Haughtineſs towards you is for ever extinguiſhed, and that it hath turned the Spirit of Perſecution into a Spirit of Peace, Charity, and Condeſcenſion; ſhall this happy Change only affect the Church of *England*? And are you ſo in Love with Separation, as not to be mov'd by this Example? It ought to be followed, were there no other Reaſon than that it is Virtue; but when beſides that, it is become neceſſary to your Preſervation, it is impoſſible to fail the having its Effect upon you. If

If it ſhould be ſaid, That the Church of *England* is never humble but when ſhe is out of Power, and therefore loſeth the Right of being believed when ſhe pretendeth to it: The Anſwer is, *Firſt*, It would be an uncharitable Objection, and very much miſ-timed; an unſeaſonable Triumph, not only Ungenerous, but Unſafe: So that in theſe Reſpects it cannot be urged without Scandal, even though it could be ſaid with Truth. *Secondly*, This is not ſo in Fact, and the Argument muſt fall, being built upon a falſe Foundation; for whatever may be told you at this very Hour, and in the Heat and Glare of your preſent Sunſhine, the Church of *England* can in a Moment bring Clouds again, and turn the Royal Thunder upon your Heads, blow you off the Stage with a Breath, if ſhe would give but a Smile or a kind Word; the leaſt Glimpſe of her Compliance would throw you back into the State of Suffering, and draw upon you all the Arrears of Severity, which have accrued during the Time of this Kindneſs to you; and yet the Church of *England*, with all her Faults, will not allow her ſelf to be reſcued by ſuch unjuſtifiable Means, but chuſeth to bear the Weight of Power, rather than lie under the Burthen of being criminal.

It cannot be ſaid, that ſhe is unprovoked: Books and Letters come out every Day to call for Anſwers, yet ſhe will not be ſtirred. From the ſuppoſed Authors and the Stile, one would ſwear they were Undertakers, and had made a Contract to fall out with the Church of *Eng-*

land. There are Lashes in every Address, Challenges to draw the Pen in every Pamphlet. In short, the fairest Occasions in the World given to Quarrel; but she wisely distinguisheth between the Body of Dissenters, whom she will suppose to act, as they do, with no ill Intent, and these small Skirmishers, pickt and sent out to Picqueer, and to begin a Fray amongst the Protestants, for the Entertainment as well as the Advantage of the Church of *Rome*.

This Conduct is so good, that it will be scandalous not to applaud it. It is not equal Dealing to blame our Adversaries for doing ill, and not commend them when they do well.

To hate them because they persecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to suffer, rather than receive all the Advantages that can be gained by a criminal Compliance, is a Principle no Sort of Christians can own; since it would give an Objection to them never to be answered.

Think a little who they were that promoted your former Persecutions, and then consider how it will look to be angry with the Instruments, and at the same time to make a League with the Authors of your Sufferings.

Have you enough considered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to stand in every Borough by Vertue of a *Conge d'Eslire*, and instead of Election, be satisfied if you are returned?

Will you in *Parliament* justify the Dispensing Power, with all its Consequences, and repeal

repeal the *Teſt*, by which you will make way for the Repeal of all the Laws that were made to preſerve your Religion, and to enact others that ſhall deſtroy it?

Are you diſpoſed to change the Liberty of Debate into the Merit of Obedience; and to be made Inſtruments to Repeal or Enact Laws, when the *Roman Conſiſtory* are *Lords of the Articles?*

Are you ſo linked with your new Friends, as to reject any Indulgence a *Parliament* ſhall offer you, if it ſhall not be ſo comprehenſive as to include the Papiſts in it?

Conſider, that the imply'd Conditions of your New Treaty, are no leſs than that you are to do every thing you are deſired, without examining; and that for this pretended Liberty of Conſcience, your real Freedom is to be ſacrificed: Your former Faults hang like Chains ſtill about you, you are let looſe only upon Bail; the firſt Act of Non-compliance ſendeth you to Goal again.

You may ſee, that the Papiſts themſelves do not rely upon the Legality of this Power which you are to juſtify; ſince the being ſo very earneſt to get it Eſtabliſhed by a Law, and the doing ſuch very hard Things in order, as they think, to obtain it, is a clear Evidence, that they do not think that the ſingle Power of the Crown is in this Caſe a good Foundation; eſpecially when this is done under a Prince, ſo very tender of all the Rights of Sovereignty, that he would think it a Diminution to his Prerogative,

where he conceiveth it ſtrong enough to go alone, to call in the Legiſlative Help to ſtrengthen and ſupport it.

You have formerly blamed the *Church* of *England*, and not without Reaſon, for going ſo far as they did in their Compliance; and yet as ſoon as they ſtopped, you ſee they are not only deſerted, but proſecuted. Conclude then from this Example, that you muſt either break off your Friendſhip, or reſolve to have no Bounds in it. If they do not ſucceed in their Deſign, they will leave you firſt; if they do, you muſt either leave them, when it will be too late for your Safety, or elſe, after the Squeazineſs of ſtarting at a Surplice, you muſt be forced to ſwallow Tranſubſtantiation.

Remember, that the other Day thoſe of the *Church* of *England* were *Trimmers* for enduring you; and now by a ſudden Turn, you are become the Favourites: Do not deceive your ſelves, it is not the Nature of laſting Plants thus to ſhoot up in a Night; you may look gay and green for a little time, but you want a Root to give you a Continuance. It is not ſo long ſince, as to be forgotten, that the *Maxim* was, *It is impoſſible for a Diſſenter not to be a* REBEL. Conſider at this time in *France*, even the New Converts are ſo far from being employed, that they are diſarmed; their ſudden Change maketh them ſtill to be diſtruſted, notwithſtanding that they are reconciled: What are you to expect then from your dear Friends, to whom, whenever they ſhall think

fit

fit to throw you off again, you have in other Times given such Arguments for their Excuse?

Besides all this, you act very unskilfully against your visible Interest, if you throw away the Advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable Revolution. Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unseasonable Activity lose the Influences of your good Star, which promiseth you every thing that is prosperous.

The *Church* of *England* convinced of its Error in being severe to you; the *Parliament*, whenever it meeteth, sure to be gentle to you; the next Heir, bred in the Country which you have so often quoted for a Pattern of Indulgence; a general Agreement of all thinking Men, that we must no more cut our selves off from the Protestants abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations upon which we are to build our Defences against the Common Enemy: So that in Truth, all Things seem to conspire to give you Ease and Satisfaction, if by too much haste to anticipate your good Fortune, you do not destroy it.

The Protestants have but one Article of Human Strength to oppose the Power which is now against them, and that is, not to lose the Advantage of their Numbers, by being so unwary as to let themselves be divided.

We all agree in our Duty to our Prince: Our Objections to his Belief, do not hinder us

from seeing his Virtues; and our not complying with his Religion, hath no Effect upon our Allegiance. We are not to be laughed out of our Passive Obedience, and the Doctrine of Non-resistance, though even those who perhaps owe the best Part of their Security to that Principle, are apt to make a Jest of it.

So that if we give no Advantage by the fatal Mistake of misapplying our Anger, by the natural Course of Things this Danger will pass away like a Shower of Hail; fair Weather will succeed, as lowring as the Sky now looketh, and all this by a plain and easy Receipt: *Let us be still, quiet, and undivided, firm at the same time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws; and so long as we continue this Method, it is next to impossible, that the Odds of Two Hundred to One should lose the Bett; except the Church of* Rome, *which hath been so long barren of Miracles, should now, in her declining Age, be brought to Bed of One that would out-do the best she can brag of in her* Legend.

To conclude; the short Question will be, Whether you will join with those who must in the end run the same Fate with you? If Protestants of all Sorts, in their Behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon more equal Terms, and for that very Reason it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our Dis-union is not only a Reproach, but a Danger to us: Those who believe in Modern Miracles,

cles, have more Right, or at leaſt more Excuſe, to neglect all Secular Cautions; but for us, it is as juſtifiable to have no Religion, as wilfully to throw away the Human Means of preſerving it.

I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt Affectionate

Humble Servant,

T. W.

SOME

SOME

CAUTIONS

Offered to the

CONSIDERATION

Of Thoſe who are to Chuſe

MEMBERS

To Serve in the

Enſuing Parliament.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCXVII.

Cornell University Library
PQ 2239.A1 1911

SOME

CAUTIONS

OFFERD

To the Consideration of those who are to Chuse *Members* to Serve for the Ensuing *Parliament*.

I Will make no other Introduction, than that it is hoped the Counties and Boroughs will remember in general, That besides other Consequences, they will have the Credit of a good Choice, or the Scandal that belongs to an ill one.

The Creators will be thought like their Creatures; and therefore an ill Choice will either be a Disparagement of their Understanding, or their Morals.

There cannot be a fuller Approbation of a thing, than the Chusing of it; so that the Fault of the Members chosen, if known beforehand, will be judged to be of the Growth of that

that County or Borough, after ſuch a ſolemn Approbation of them.

In ſhort, thoſe that ſend up their Repreſentatives to *Weſtminſter*, ſhould take care they may be ſuch as will do them Right, and their Country Honour.

Now to the Particulars:

I. A very extraordinary Earneſtneſs to be choſen, is no very good Symptom: A Deſire to ſerve the Nation in Parliament, is an *Engliſh* Man's Ambition; always to be Encouraged, and never to be diſapproved.

A Man may not only be willing to ſtand, but he may declare that Willingneſs to his Friends, that they may aſſiſt him, and by all the Means becoming a Modeſt and Prudent Man, he may endeavour to ſucceed, and prevent the being diſappointed in it.

But there is a wide Difference between this, and the raiſing a kind of petty War in the County or Corporation; entring the Liſts rather for a Combat than an Election; throwing Fire-Balls to put Men into Heats, and omitting to ſpread no Reports, whether True or Falſe, which may give an Advantage by laying a Blemiſh upon a Competitor.

Theſe Methods will ever be Suſpicious; it will never be thought a Natural Thing for Men to take ſuch extravagant Pains for the mere ſake of doing good to others.

To

To be content to ſuffer ſomething for a good End, is that which many would do without any great repugnance: But where a Man can honeſtly propoſe nothing to himſelf, except Troubles, Charge, and Loſs, by Abſence from his own Affairs, to be ſo violent in the purſuit of ſo ill a Bargain, is not at all ſuited to the languiſhing Virtue of Mankind ſo corrupted.

Such a ſelf-denying Zeal in ſuch a ſelf-ſeeking Age, is ſo little to be imagined, that it may without Injury be ſuſpected.

Therefore when theſe Bluſtring Pretenders come upon the Stage, their natural Temper and other Circumſtances ought to be very well conſider'd, before Men truſt them with the diſpoſal of their Money, or their Liberty.

And I am apt to believe, there could hardly be found one ſingle Man whoſe other Qualifications would over-balance the Objections that lie againſt ſuch importunate Suitors.

II. Recommending Letters ought to have no Effect upon Elections.

In this I muſt diſtinguiſh; for tho' in ſtrictneſs perhaps there ſhould be no exception; yet in compliance with long Practice, and out of an Indulgence that is neceſſary in a time when Mankind is too much looſened from ſevere Rules, to be kept cloſe up to them, Letters ſent only from equal Men, doing Good Men right by giving Evidence in their Behalf, offering them as fitly qualified, when they really are ſo, and freeing them from unjuſt Aſperſions, may be ſtill allowed. The

The Letters I mean, are from Men of Power, where it may be beneficial to comply, and inconvenient to oppoſe.

Choice muſt not only be free from Force, but from Influence, which is a Degree of Force; There muſt be no Difficulty, no Apprehenſion that a Refuſal will be ill taken or reſented.

The Freeholders muſt be Freemen too; they are to have no Shackles upon their Votes in an Election: And the Men who ſtand, ſhould carry their own Letters of Recommendation about them, which are their good Character and Behaviour in the World, without borrowing Evidence, eſpecially when it comes from ſuſpected Hands.

Thoſe who make uſe of theſe Epiſtles, ought to have no more Advantage from them, than the *Muſcovites* have from the Letter put into their Hands when they are Buried, to recommend them to St. *Nicolas*.

The firſt ſhould as little get Admittance for Men into the Parliament, as theſe Letters can introduce the Bearers into Heaven.

The Scandal of ſuch Letters lieth firſt in the arrogant impoſing of thoſe that write them, and next in the wretched Meanneſs of thoſe that need them.

Men muſt be fallen very low in their Credit, who upon ſuch an Occaſion have a Recourſe to Power to ſupport it: Their Enemies could not give ſtronger Evidence of their not being fit for that which they pretend to. And if the Electors judge otherwiſe, they will be pretty ſure

in

in a little time to ſee their Miſtake, and to repent it.

III. Non-Attendance in former Parliaments ought to be a Bar againſt the Choice of Men who have been guilty of it.

It is one of the worſt Kinds of Non-Reſidence, and the leaſt to be excuſed: It is very hard that Men ſhould deſpiſe a Duty, which perhaps is the only ground of the Reſpect that is paid to them.

It is ſuch a Piece of Sawcineſs for any one to preſs for the Honour of Serving in Parliament, and then to be careleſs in Attending it, that in a Houſe where there were ſo many Officers, the Penalty had not been improper to have Caſhier'd them for not appearing at the General Muſter.

If Men forbear to come out of Lazineſs, let them be gratified by taking their Eaſe at Home without Interruption: If out of ſmall Cunning, to avoid Difficulties, and to eſcape from the Inconvenience of Voting in Critical Caſes, let them enjoy that deſpicable Pitch of Wiſdom, and never pretend to make a Figure where the Publick is to be ſerved.

If it would not be thought adviſable to truſt a Man immediately after he hath been drawn out of Goal, it may be as reaſonable to look upon one, who for his Non-Attendance in the Houſe hath been ſent for in Cuſtody, as a Kind of Bankrupt, which putteth him upon unequal Terms with thoſe who have been aſſiduous in the diſcharge of their Duty. The

They who thought fit in one Seſſion to neglect the Publick Buſineſs, may be juſtly ſuſpected, by their ſtanding in the next, to intend their own.

Beſides theſe more deliberate Offenders, there are ſome who do not Attend even when they are in the Houſe; abſent in their Thoughts for want of Comprehending the Buſineſs that is doing, and therefore diverted from it by any thing that is Trivial.

Such Men are Nuſances to a ſerious Aſſembly; and when they are Numerous, it amounteth almoſt to a Diſſolution; it being ſcarce poſſible for good Senſe to be heard, whilſt a Noiſe is made by the Buzzing of theſe Horſe-flies.

The *Roman* Cenſors who degraded a Senator for yawning whilſt there was a Debate, would have much more abundant Matter here upon which they might exerciſe their Juriſdiction.

To conclude this Head; there are ſo few that ever mended in theſe Caſes, that after the firſt Experiment it is not at all reaſonable to take them upon a new Tryal.

IV. Men who are unquiet and buſy in their Natures, are to give more than ordinary Proofs of their Integrity, before the Electing them into a Publick Truſt can be juſtified. As a hot Summer breedeth greater Swarms of Flies, ſo an Active Time breedeth a greater Number of theſe ſhining Gentlemen.

It is pretty ſure, that Men who cannot allow themſelves to be at reſt, will let no Body elſe be at quiet. Such a perpetual Activity is apt by Degrees to be applied to the purſuit of their private Intereſt. And their Thoughts being in a continual Motion, they have not time to dwell long enough upon any Thing to entertain a Scruple.

So that they are generally at full Liberty to do what is moſt convenient for them, without being fettered by any Reſtraints.

Nay further; whenever it happeneth that there is an Impunity for Cheating, theſe nimble Gentlemen are apt to think it a Diſparagement to their Underſtandings not to go into it.

I doubt it is not a Wrong to the preſent Age, to ſay, that a Knave is a leſs unpopular Calling than it hath been in former Times. And to ſay Truth, it would be Ingratitude in ſome Men to turn Honeſt, when they owe all they have to their Knavery.

The People are in this reſpect unhappy; they are too many to do their own Buſineſs; their Numbers, which make their Strength, are at the ſame time the Cauſe of their Weakneſs; they are too unweildy to move; and for this Reaſon nothing can ever redeem them from this incurable Impotency: So that they muſt have Solicitors to purſue and look after their Intereſts; who are too often diſpoſed to diſpenſe with the Fidelity they owe to thoſe that

that truſt them; eſpecially if the Government will pay their Bills without Abatement.

It is better theſe Gentlemen's Dexterity ſhould be employed any where than in Parliament, where the Ill Conſequence of their being Members is too much diffuſed, and not reſtrained to the County or Borough who ſhall be ſo unwary as to Chuſe them.

V. Great Drinkers are leſs fit to ſerve in Parliament than is apprehended.

Men's Virtue, as well as their Underſtanding, is apt to be tainted by it.

The Appearance of it is Sociable and well-natur'd, but it is by no means to be rely'd upon.

Nothing is more frail than a Man too far engaged in wet Popularity.

The Habit of it maketh Men careleſs of their Buſineſs, and that naturally leadeth them into Circumſtances, that make them liable to Temptation.

It is ſeldom ſeen, that any Principles have ſuch a Root, as that they can be Proof againſt the continual Droppings of a Bottle.

As to the Faculties of the Mind, there is not leſs Objection; the Vapours of Wine may ſometimes throw out Sparks of Wit, but they are like ſcattered Pieces of Ore, there is no Vein to work upon.

Such Wit, even the beſt of it, is like paying great Fines; in which Caſe there muſt of Neceſſity be an Abatement of the conſtant Rent.

Nothing

Nothing ſure is a greater Enemy to the Brain, than too much Moiſture; it can the leaſt of any thing bear the being continually ſteeped: And it may be ſaid, that Thought may be reſembled to ſome Creatures which can live only in a dry Country.

Yet ſo arrogant are ſome Men, as to think they are ſo much Maſters of Buſineſs, as that they can play with it: They imagine they can drown their Reaſon once a Day, and that it ſhall not be the worſe for it; forgetting, that by too often dividing, the Underſtanding at laſt groweth too weak to riſe up again.

I will ſuppoſe this Fault was leſs frequent, when *Solon* made it one of his Laws, That it was lawful to kill a Magiſtrate, if he was found Drunk. Such a Liberty taken in this Age, either in the Parliament or out of it, would do terrible Execution.

I cannot but mention a Petition in the Year 1647, from the County of *Devon*, to the Houſe of Commons, againſt the undue Election of Burgeſſes, who are ſtrong in Wine, and weak in Wiſdom.

The Cauſe of ſuch Petitions is to be prevented, by Chuſing ſuch as ſhall not give Handle for them.

VI. Wanting Men give ſuch Cauſe of Suſpicion where-ever they deal, that ſurely the Chuſers will be upon their Guard, as often as ſuch dangerous Pretenders make their Application to them.

Let

Let the Behaviour of ſuch Men be never ſo plauſible and untainted, yet they who are to pitch upon thoſe they are to truſt with all they have, may be excuſed, if they do not only conſider what they are, but what they may be.

As we pray our ſelves we may not be led into Temptation, we ought not by any Means to thruſt others into it, even though our own Intereſt was not concerned; and ſure when it is, the Argument hath no leſs Force.

If a Man hath a ſmall Eſtate, and a numerous Family; where it happeneth that a Man hath as many Children as he hath Tenants, it is not a Recommending Circumſtance for his Election.

When it cometh to be the Queſtion with ſuch a Man, whether he ſhall be Juſt to the Publick, or Cruel to his Family; it is very poſſible the Deciſion may be on the Side of corrupted Nature.

It is a Compliment to this Age, which it doth not deſerve, to ſuppoſe Men are ſo ty'd up to Morality, as that they cannot be pinched out of it; eſpecially now when it is called Starving, not to be embroidered, or ſerved in Plate.

The Men choſen to ſerve their Country, ſhould not be loaden with Suits that may tempt them to aſſume Privileges; much leſs under ſuch Neceſſities as may more immediately prepare them for Corruption.

Men who need a Parliament for their own particular Intereſt, have more Reaſon to offer their Service than others have to accept of it.

And

And though I do not doubt, but there may be ſome whoſe Virtue would triumph over their Wants, let them be never ſo preſſing; yet to expoſe the Publick to the Hazard of being deceived, is that which can never be juſtify'd by thoſe that Chuſe. And tho' it muſt be allow'd poſſible for a Wanting Man to be Honeſt, yet it is impoſſible for a Man to be Wiſe that will depend upon it.

VII. There is a Sort of Men that have a Tinſel-Wit, which makes them ſhine among thoſe who cannot judge.

Club and Coffee-houſe Gentlemen, petty Merchants of ſmall Conceits, who have an empty Habit of prating without Meaning: They always aim at Wit, and generally make falſe Fire.

Their Buſineſs is leſs to learn, than to ſet themſelves out; which makes them chuſe to be with ſuch as can only be Witneſſes of their ſmall Ingenuity, rather than with ſuch as might improve it.

There is a ſubordinate Wit, as much inferior to a Wit of Buſineſs, as a Fidler at a Wake is to the lofty Sound of an Organ.

Men of this Size are in no degree ſuited to the Buſineſs of redreſſing Grievances, and making Laws.

There is a Parliament-Wit to be diſtinguiſh'd from all other Kinds: Thoſe who have it, do not ſtuff their Heads only with Cavils and Objections.

They have a deliberate and an obſerving Wit; a Head turned to publick Things; Men who place a greater Pleaſure in mending a Fault, than in finding it out.

Their Underſtanding directeth them to object in the right place; and not like thoſe who go by no other Rule than to conclude, that muſt be the beſt Counſel which was not taken.

Theſe Wholeſale Judges ſhew ſuch a groſs and peeviſh Ignorance, that appeareth ſo openly in all they ſay or do, that they give loud warning to all conſidering Men, not to chuſe them.

VIII. The Diſlike of ſlight airy Men muſt not go ſo far, as to recommend Heavineſs in Oppoſition to it, eſpecially where Men are convicted of it by Experience in former Seſſions.

As a lively Coxcomb will ſeldom fail to lay in his Claim for Wit; ſo a Blockhead is apt to pretend, that his Heavineſs is a Proof of his Judgment.

Some have an univerſal Lethargy ſpread upon their Underſtanding, without Exception; others have an Inſufficiency *quoad hoc*, as in ſome Caſes Men have *quoad hanc*: Theſe laſt can never ſo turn their Thoughts to publick Buſineſs, as to give the Attention that is neceſſary to comprehend it.

There are thoſe who have ſuch a thick Shell upon their Brains, that their Ignorance is impenetrable, and maketh ſuch a ſtout Reſiſtance

againſt common Senſe, that it will never be ſubdued by it: True Heart-of-Oak Ignorance, that will never yield, let Reaſon beat never ſo hard upon it; and tho' their kind Neighbours have at ſeveral Elections ſent them up to School again, they have ſtill return'd the ſame incurable Dunces.

There is a falſe Gravity that is a very ill Symptom; and it may be ſaid, that as Rivers, which run very ſlowly, have always the moſt Mud at the Bottom; ſo a ſolid Stiffneſs in the conſtant Courſe of a Man's Life, is a Sign of a thick Bed of Mud at the Bottom of his Brain.

A dull Man is ſo near a dead Man, that he is hardly to be ranked in the Liſt of the Living; and as he is not to be bury'd whilſt he is half alive, ſo he is as little to be employed whilſt he is half dead.

Parliaments are now grown to be quite other things than they were formerly.

In Ancient Times they were little more than Great Aſſizes; a Roll of Grievances; *Magna Charta* confirmed; Privileges of Holy Church preſerved; ſo many Sacks of Wool given, and away.

Now there are Traps and Gins laid for the well-meaning Country-Gentleman; he is to grapple with the Cunning of Men in Town, which is not a little improv'd by being rewarded and encourag'd.

So that Men, whoſe good Intentions are not ſeconded and ſupported by ſome Degree of Ability, are as much the more dangerous, as

they are leſs criminal than cunning Knaves. Their honeſt Miſtakes, for want of diſtinguiſhing, either give a Countenance to, or at leaſt leſſen the Scandal of the injurious Things that are done to the Publick; and with Leave aſk'd for ſo odd an Expreſſion, their innocent Guilt is as miſchievous to the Laws and Liberties, as the moſt deliberate Malice of thoſe that would deſtroy them.

IX. There is an Abuſe, which daily increaſeth, of ſending ſuch to Parliament, as are ſcarce old enough to be ſent to the Univerſity.

I would not in this reſtrain the Definition of theſe Boys to the Age of Twenty One: If my Opinion might take place, I ſhould wiſh that none might be choſen into the Houſe of Commons under Thirty; and to make ſome Equality, I ſhould from the ſame Motives think it convenient, that no Lord ſhould have a Vote in Judicature under that Age.

But to leave this Digreſſion; I cannot ſee why the Chuſers ſhould not at leaſt make it a Rule among themſelves, not to ſend any Man to repreſent them under the Age of Twenty Five, which is the Time of Majority in moſt other Places of the World.

Surely it is not that we are earlier Plants than our Neighbours.

Such Suppoſition could neither be juſtified by our Climate, nor by the Degree of Latitude in which we are placed; I muſt therefore attribute it to the Haſte our Anceſtors had (and not with-

without Reaſon) to free themſelves from the Severity of Wardſhips.

But whether this, or any thing elſe, was the Cauſe of our earlier ſtepping into Man's Eſtate; ſo it is now, that according to our Laws, Twenty One is the Age of Diſcretion; and the Young Man is then veſted with a Legal, how defective ſoever he may be in his Natural Underſtanding.

With all this there ought to be a Difference made between coming out of Pupilage, and leaping into Legiſlatorſhip.

It is perhaps inconvenient enough, that a Man ſhould be ſo ſoon let looſe to deſtroy his own Eſtate; but it is yet worſe, that he ſhould then have a Power of giving away other Mens.

The Law muſt make General Rules, to which there always will be ſome Objections.

If there were Triers appointed to judge when Leading-ſtrings may be left off, many would wear them a very great while, and ſome perhaps with their Gray Hairs; there being no ſmall Number of Old Boys in all Times, and eſpecially in this.

It is neceſſary therefore to make Exceptions to this General Rule, where the Caſe ſo much requireth it, as it doth in the Matter in Queſtion.

The Ground of ſending theſe *Minors* to Parliament, ought not to recommend the Continuance of it to thoſe who are Lovers of Liberty; ſince it was by the Authority and Influence of Great Men, that their Stripling Sons

were firſt receiv'd by the humble depending Boroughs, or the complying Counties.

They called it, as many do ſtill, the beſt School for Young Men. Now Experience hath ſhew'd us, that it is like a School only in this Reſpect, That theſe Youngſters, when they are admitted, deſerve to be whipp'd in it.

If the Houſe of Commons is a School, it muſt be for Men of riper Age: Theſe are too young to learn there, and being elevated by a miſtaken ſmattering in ſmall Politicks, they grow too ſupercilious to learn any where elſe; ſo that inſtead of improving young promiſing Plants, they are deſtroy'd by being miſplac'd.

If then they do themſelves hurt by it, it is ſurer yet that they do the Houſe no good by coming into it.

They were not Green Geeſe that are ſaid to have ſav'd the Capitol; they were certainly of full Age, or elſe their Cackling could not have been heard, ſo as to give warning.

Indeed it look'd of late, when the Faſhion was to have long continu'd Parliaments, as if we might plant a Boy in the Houſe, with a Proſpect that he might continue there till he had Gray Hairs; and that the ſame Sapling might have ſuch a Root, as that he might grow up to be Timber without being remov'd.

If theſe Young Men had Skill enough to pitch upon ſome-body in the Houſe, to whom they might reſign their Opinion, and upon whoſe Judgment they might lean without Reſerve, there might be leſs Objection.

But

But to ſpeak Truth, they know as little how to chuſe, as thoſe did who Elected them; ſo that there is no other Expedient left, than the letting them alone.

One may ſay, generally ſpeaking, That a young Man being too ſoon qualify'd for the ſerious Buſineſs of Parliaments, would really be no good Symptom.

It is a Sign of too much Phlegm, and too little Fire in the Beginning of Age, if Men have not a little more Heat than is convenient; for as they grow older, they will run a Hazard of not having ſo much as is neceſſary.

The Truth is, the Vigor of Youth is ſoften'd and miſapply'd, when it is not ſpent either in War or cloſe Studies; all other Courſes have an idle Mixture that cometh to nothing, and maketh them like Trees, which for want of Pruning run up to Wood, and ſeldom or never bear any Fruit.

To conclude this Head; It muſt be own'd, that there is no Age of our Life, which doth not carry Arguments along with it to humble us; and therefore it would be well for the Buſineſs of the World, if young Men would ſtay longer before they went into it, and old Men not ſo long before they went out of it.

X. Next to theſe may be rank'd a Sort of Superfine Gentlemen, Carpet-Knights, Men whoſe Heads may be ſaid to be only Appurtenances to their Perukes, which entirely ingroſs all their Care and Application.

Their Underſtanding is ſo ſtrictly appropriated to their Dreſs, that no Part of it is, upon pain of their utmoſt Diſpleaſure, to be diverted to any other Uſe.

It is not by this intended to recommend an affected Clown, or to make it a neceſſary Qualification for a Member of Parliament, that he muſt renounce clean Linnen or good Manners; but ſurely a too earneſt Application to make every thing ſit right about them, ſtriketh too deep into their ſmall Stock of Thoughts to allow it Furniture for any thing elſe.

To do right to theſe fine-ſpun Gentlemen, Buſineſs is too coarſe a thing for them, which maketh it an unreaſonable Hardſhip upon them to oppreſs them with it; ſo that in Tenderneſs to them, no leſs than out of Care to the Publick, it is beſt to leave them to their Taylors, with whom they will live in much better Correſpondence, when the Danger is prevented of their falling out about Privileges.

XI. Men of Injuſtice and Violence in their private Dealings, are not to be truſted by the People with a Commiſſion to treat for them in Parliament.

In the 4th of *Edward* III. the King commandeth in his Writs, not to chuſe any Knights who had been guilty of Crime, or Maintenance.

Theſe warm Men ſeldom fail to run into Maintenance, taken in a larger Extent.

It is an unnatural Sound to come from a Man that is Arbitrary in his Neighbourhood to talk of Laws and Liberties at *Weſtminſter*; he is not a proper Vehicle for ſuch Words, which ought never to be Prophaned.

An habitual Breaker of the Laws, to be made one of the Law-makers, is as if the Benches in *Weſtminſter-hall* ſhould be filled with Men out of *Newgate*.

Thoſe who are of this Temper cannot change their Nature out of Reſpect to their Country.

Quite contrary, they will leſs ſcruple to do Wrong to a Nation where no Body taketh it to himſelf, than to particular Men, to whoſe Reſentments they are more immediately expoſed.

In ſhort, they lie under ſuch ſtrong Objections, that the over-balance of better Men cannot altogether purify an Aſſembly where theſe unclean Beaſts are admitted.

XII. Exceſſive Spenders and unreaſonable Savers are to be Excluded, being both greedy from differing Cauſes.

They are both of them Diſeaſes of Infection, and for that Reaſon are not to be admitted into Publick Aſſemblies.

A Prodigal Man muſt be greedy, becauſe he thinketh he can never ſpend enough.

The Wretch muſt be ſo, becauſe he will never think he can hoard enough.

The World firſt admireth Men's Wiſdom for getting Money, and then raileth at them if they do not throw it away. So that the Prodigal Man is only the leſs unpopular Extreme; he is every jot as well prepared as the Miſer to fall out with his Morals, when once a good Temptation is offered him to lay them aſide.

On the other ſide, ſome Rich Men are as eager to overtake thoſe that are Richer, as a Running-Horſe is to get to the Race-Poſt before the other that contendeth with him.

Men often deſire to heap, rather becauſe others have more, than that they know what to do with that which they Covet with ſo much Impatience.

So that 'tis plain, the Fancy hath as great a Share in this imaginary Pleaſure of gathering, as it hath in Love, Ambition, or any other Paſſion.

It is pretty ſure, that as no Man was ever the Richer for having a good Eſtate, if he did not look after it, ſo neither will he be the Honeſter if he hath never ſo much.

Want of Care will always create want of Money; ſo that whether a Man is a Beggar becauſe he never had any Money, or becauſe he can never keep any, it is all one to thoſe who are to truſt him.

Upon this Head of Prodigality, it may be no unreaſonable Caution to be afraid of thoſe who in former Service have been extravagantly Liberal of the Publick Money.

Truſting

Truſting is ſo hazardous a Thing, that it ſhould never be done but where it is neceſſary: So that when Truſtees are found upon Tryal to be very Laviſh, even without examining into the Cauſes of it, (which are generally very ſuſpicious) it is a reaſonable Part of preventing Wit to change Hands, or elſe the Chuſers will pay the Penalty that belongeth to Good-nature ſo miſplaced, and the Conſequences will be attended with the Aggravation of their not being made Wiſer by ſuch a ſevere and coſtly Warning.

XIII. It would be of very great uſe to take a general Reſolution throughout the Kingdom, that none ſhould be choſen for a County but ſuch as have either in Poſſeſſion, or Reverſion, a conſiderable Eſtate in it; nor for a Borough, except he be Reſiant, or that he hath ſome Eſtate in the County, in preſent or expectancy.

There have been Eminent Men of Law who were of Opinion, that in the Caſe of a Burgeſs of a Town not Reſiant, the Court is to give Judgment according to the Statute, notwithſtanding Cuſtom to the Contrary.

But not to inſiſt now upon that, the prudential Part is Argument enough to ſet up a Rule to abrogate an ill Cuſtom.

There is not, perhaps a greater Cauſe of the Corruption of Parliaments, than by adopting Members, who may be ſaid to have no Title by their Births.

The

The Juries are by the Law to be *Ex Vicineto*; and ſhall there be leſs care that the Repreſentatives of the People be ſo too?

Sure the Intereſt of the County is beſt placed in the Hands of ſuch as have ſome ſhare in it.

The Outliers are not ſo eaſily kept within the Pale of the Laws.

They are often choſen without being known, which is more like chuſing Valentines, than Members of Parliament. The Motive of their ſtanding is more juſtly to be ſuppoſed that they may Redreſs their own Grievances which they know, than thoſe of the Country, to which they are Strangers.

They are Choſen at *London* to Serve in *Cornwall*, &c. and are often Parties, before they come to be Repreſentatives: One would think the Reproach it is for a County not to have Men within their own Circle to Serve them in Parliament, ſhould be Argument enough to reject theſe Treſpaſſers, without urging the ill Conſequences in other Reſpects of their being Admitted.

XIV. As in ſome Caſes it is adviſable to give a total Excluſion to Men not fitly Qualify'd; ſo in others it is more proper to lay down a General Rule of Caution, with Allowance of ſome Exceptions, where Men have given ſuch Proofs of themſelves, as create a Right for them to be diſtinguiſh'd.

Of

Of this Nature is that which I ſhall ſay concerning Lawyers, who, by the ſame Reaſon that they may be Uſeful, may be alſo very Dangerous.

The Negligence, and want of Application in Gentlemen, hath made them to be thought more neceſſary than naturally they are in Parliament.

They have not only ingroſſed the Chair of the Speaker, but that of a Committee is hardly thought to be well filled, except it be by a Man of the Robe.

This maketh it worthy of the more ſerious Reflection of all Gentlemen, that it may be an Argument to them to qualify themſelves in Parliamentary Learning, in ſuch a Manner, as that they may rely upon their own Abilities, in order to the ſerving their Country.

But to come to the Point in Queſtion; it is not without Precedent, that Practiſing Lawyers have been excluded from Serving in Parliament; and without following thoſe Patterns ſtrictly, I cannot but think it reaſonable, that whilſt a Parliament ſitteth, no Member of Parliament ſhould Plead at any Bar.

The Reaſon of it is in many Reſpects ſtrong in it ſelf, and is grown much ſtronger by the long Sitting of Parliaments of late; but I will not dwell upon this: The Matter now in Queſtion being concerning Lawyers being Elected, which I conceive ſhould be done with ſo much Circumſpection, that probably it would not often happen.

If Lawyers have great Practice, that ought to take them up; if not, it is no great Sign of their Ability; and at the ſame time giveth a Suſpicion, that they may be more liable to be tempted.

If it ſhould be ſo in Fact, that no King ever wanted Judges to ſoften the Stiffneſs of the Laws that were made, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the Reaſon of State, and the Convenience of the Government; it is no Injury now to ſuppoſe it poſſible for Lawyers in the Houſe of Commons, ſo to behave themſelves in the making of New Laws, as the better to make way for the having their Robes lin'd with Furr.

They are Men uſed to Argue on both Sides of a Queſtion; And if ordinary Fees can inſpire them with very good Reaſons in a very ill Cauſe, that Faculty exerciſed in Parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to thoſe that chuſe them.

And therefore, without Arraigning a Profeſſion, that it would be Scandalous for a Man not to Honour; one may, by a Suſpicion, which is the more excuſable when it is in the Behalf of the People, imagine that the Habit of taking Money for their Opinion, may create in ſome ſuch a forgetfulneſs to diſtinguiſh, that they may take it for their Vote.

They are generally Men who by a laborious Study hope to be Advanced: They have it in their Eye as a Reward for the Toil they undergo.

This

This maketh them generally very ſlow, and ill-diſpoſed (let the Occaſion never ſo much require it) to wreſtle with that Soil where Preferment groweth.

Now if the Suppoſition be in it ſelf not unreaſonable, and that it ſhould happen to be ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd by Experience, it will be very unneceſſary to ſay any more upon this Article, but leave it to the Electors to conſider of it.

XV. I cannot forbear to put in a Caveat againſt Men ty'd to a Party.

There muſt in every Body be a Leaning to that Sort of Men who profeſs ſome Principles, more than to others who go upon a different Foundation; but when a Man is drown'd in a Party, plung'd in it beyond his Depth, he runneth a great Hazard of being upon ill Terms with good Senſe, or Morality, if not with both of them.

Such a Man can hardly be call'd a Free Agent, and for that Reaſon is very unfit to be truſted with the Peoples Liberty, after he hath given up his own.

It is ſaid, that in ſome Part of the *Indies* they do ſo affect little Feet, that they keep them ſqueezed while they are Children, ſo that they ſtay at that ſmall ſize after they are grown Men.

One may ſay ſomething like this of Men Lock'd up in a Party; they put their Thoughts into ſuch a narrow Mould, that they can never

be enlarged nor releaſed from their firſt Confinements.

Men in a Party have *Liberty* only for their *Motto*; in reality they are greater Slaves than any Body elſe would care to make them.

A Party, even in Times of Peace, (tho' againſt the Original Contract, and the Bill of Rights) ſets up and continues the Exerciſe of Martial Law: Once Enroll'd, the Man that quitteth, if they had their Will, would be hang'd for a Deſerter.

They communicate Anger to one another by Contagion: And it may be ſaid, that if too much Light dazzleth the Eye-ſight, too much Heat doth not leſs weaken the Judgment.

Heat reigneth in the Fancy; and Reaſon, which is a colder Faculty of the Brain, taketh more time to be heard, than the other will allow.

The Heat of a Party is like the Burning of a Fever; and not a Natural Warmth, evenly diſtributed to give Life and Vigor.

There was a Time indeed when Anger ſhew'd a good Sign of Honeſty; but that Evidence is very much weakned by Inſtances we have ſeen ſince the Days of Yore: And the Publick-Spirited Choler hath been thrown off within time of Memory, and loſt almoſt all its Credit with ſome People, ſince they found what Governments thought fit to make their ſo doing a Step to their Preferment.

A ſtrong

A ſtrong Bluſtring Wind ſeldom continues long in one Corner.

Some Men knock loud only to be let in; the Buſtle they make is animated by their Private Intereſt. The outward Blaze only is for Religion and Liberty: The true laſting Fire, like that of the Veſtals which never went out, is an Eagerneſs to get ſomewhat for themſelves.

A Houſe of Commons compoſed of ſuch Men, would be more properly ſo many Merchants Incorporated in a Regular Company, to make their particular Adventures, than Men ſent from the People to Serve and Repreſent them.

There are ſome Splenetick Gentlemen who confine their favourable Opinion within ſo narrow a Compaſs, that they will not allow it to any Man that was not hang'd in the late Reigns.

Now by that Rule one might expect they ſhould Reſcue themſelves from the Diſadvantage of being now Alive; and by Abdicating a World ſo little worthy of them, get a great Name to themſelves, with the general ſatisfaction of all thoſe they would leave behind them.

Among the many other ill Conſequences of a ſtated Party, it is none of the leaſt, that it tempteth low and inſignificant Men to come upon the Stage, to expoſe themſelves, and to ſpoil Buſineſs.

It turneth a Cypher into a Figure, ſuch a one as it is: A Man in a Party is able to make a Noiſe, let it be never ſo empty a Sound.

A weak Man is eaſily blown out of his ſmall Senſes, by being Muſter'd into a Party: he is flatter'd till he liketh himſelf ſo well, that he taketh it extremely ill if he hath not an Employment.

Nothing is more in Faſhion, than for Men to deſire good Places, and I doubt nothing is leſs ſo than to deſerve them.

From Nobody to Somebody is ſuch a violent ſtride, that Nature, which hath the Negative Voice, will not give its Royal Aſſent to it; ſo that when inſufficient Men aim at being in Buſineſs, the worſt of their Enemies might out of Malice to them, Pray for their Preferment.

There could be no End, if one did not ſtop till this Theme had no more Matter to furniſh. I will only ſay, Nothing is more evident, than that the Good of the Nation hath been ſacrificed to the Animoſities of the ſeveral Contending Parties; and without entring into the Diſpute which of them are more or leſs in the right, it is pretty ſure, that whilſt theſe Oppoſite Sets of Angry Men are playing at Foot-ball, they will break all the Windows, and do more hurt than their pretended Zeal for the Nation will ever make amends for.

In ſhort, a Man ſo engaged is retained before the People take him for their Council; he hath ſuch a Reſpect for his Party, that it is not adviſable for thoſe who would chuſe him

to

to depend upon his Profeſſions. All Parties aſſuming ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, that by their Sovereign Authority they Cancel and Diſſolve any Act or Promiſe that they do not afterwards approve.

Theſe Things conſidered, thoſe who will chuſe ſuch Men deſerve whatever followeth.

XVI. Pretenders to Exorbitant Merit in the late Revolution, are not without Objections againſt them, when they ſtand to ſerve in Parliament. It would not only be a Low, but a Criminal kind of Envy, to deny a diſtinguiſhing Juſtice to Men who have been Inſtrumental and Active, when the Service of their Country required it. But there ought to be Moderation in Men's Claims, or elſe it is out of the Power of our poor Iſland to ſatisfy them. It is true, Service of all Kinds is grown much dearer, like Labourers Wages, which formerly occaſioned ſeveral Statutes to Regulate them.

But now the Men who only carried Mortar to the Building, when it is Finiſhed think they are ill dealt with if they are not made Maſter-Workmen.

They preſently cry out, the Original Contract is broken, if their Merit is not rewarded, at their own Rate too.

Some will think there never ought to be an End of their Rewards; when indifferent Judges would perhaps be puzzled to find out the Beginning of their Merit.

They

They bring in ſuch large Bills, that they muſt be Examin'd: Some Bounds muſt be put to Men's Pretenſions; elſe the Nation, which is to pay the Reckoning, will every way think it a ſcurvy thing to be undone, whether it be by being over-run by our Enemies, or by the being exhauſted by our Friends.

There ought therefore to be Deductions where they are reaſonable, the better to juſtify the paying what remaineth.

For Example, if any of theſe Paſſionate Lovers of the Proteſtant Religion ſhould not think fit in their manner of Living, to give the leaſt Evidence of their Morality, their Claims upon that Head might ſure be ſtruck off without any Injuſtice to them.

If there are any who ſet down great Sums as a Reward due to their Zeal for Reſcuing Property from the Jaws of Arbitrary Power; their Pretenſions may fairly be Rejected, if now they are ſo far from ſhewing a Care and Tenderneſs of the Laws, that they look rather like Council retained on the other Side.

It is no leſs Strange, than I doubt it is True, that ſome Men ſhould be ſo in Love with their dear Miſtreſs *Old England*, with all her Wrinkles, as out of an Heroick Paſſion, to Swim over to Reſcue Her from being Raviſh'd; and when they have done the Feat, the firſt Thing after Enjoyment is, that they go about to Strangle Her.

For

For the ſake of true Love it is not fit that ſuch ungenteel Gallants ſhould be too much encourag'd; and their Arrogance for having done well at firſt, will have no Right to be excuſed, if their doing ſo ill at laſt doth not make them a little more Modeſt.

True Merit, like a River, the deeper it is, the leſs Noiſe it makes.

Theſe loud Proclaimers of their own Deſerts, are not only to be ſuſpected for their Truth, but the Electors are to conſider that ſuch Meritorious Men lay an Aſſeſſment upon thoſe that Chuſe them.

The Publick Taxes are already heavy enough without the Addition of theſe private Reckonings. It is therefore the ſafer way, not to employ Men, who will expect more for their Wages, than the miſtaken Borough that ſendeth them up to Parliament could be ſold for.

XVII. With all due Regard to the Nobleſt of Callings, Military Officers are out of their true Element when they are miſplaced in a Houſe of Commons.

Things in this World ought to be well ſuited. There are ſome Appearances ſo unnatural, that Men are convinc'd by them without any other Argument.

The very Habit in ſome Caſes, recommendeth or giveth Offence.

If

If the Judges upon the Bench ſhould, inſtead of their Furs, which ſignify Gravity, and beſpeak Reſpect, be Cloathed like the Jockeys at *New-Market*, or wear Jack-Boots and *Steenkirks*; they would not in Reality have leſs Law, but Mankind would be ſo ſtruck with this unuſual Object, that it would be a great while before they could think it poſſible to receive Juſtice from Men ſo Accouter'd.

It is to ſome Degree the ſame Thing in this Caſe; ſuch Martial Habits, Blue-Coats, Red Stockings, *&c.* make them look very unlike Grave Senators. One would almoſt Swear they were Creatures apart, and of a different Species from the reſt of the Body.

In former Times, when only the Reſiant Shopkeeper was to Repreſent his Corporation (which by the way is the Law ſtill at this Day) the Military Looks of one of theſe Sons of *Mars*, would have ſtared the Quaking Member down again to his Borough.

Now the Number of them is ſo increaſed, that the Peaceable Part of the Houſe may lawfully Swear they are in fear of their Lives, from ſuch an Awful Appearance of Men of War.

It maketh the Room look like a Guard-Houſe by ſuch an Ill-ſuited Mixture. But this is only the Out-ſide, the Bark of the Argument; the Root goeth yet deeper againſt Chuſing ſuch Men, whoſe Talents ought to be otherwiſe applied.

Their

Their Two Capacities are ſo inconſiſtent, that Mens undertaking to ſerve both the Cures, will be the Cauſe in a little time, that we ſhall neither have Men of War, nor Men of Buſineſs, good in their ſeveral Kinds.

An Officer is to give up his Liberty to obey Orders; and it is neceſſarily incident to his Calling that he ſhould do ſo.

A Member of Parliament is Originally to be tender of his own Liberty, that other Men may the better truſt him with theirs.

An Officer is to enable himſelf by his Courage, improved by Skill and Experience, to ſupport the Laws (if Invaded) when they are made; but he is not ſuppoſed to be at leiſure enough to underſtand how they ſhould be made.

A Member of Parliament is to fill his Thoughts with what may beſt conduce to the Civil Adminiſtration; which is enough to take up the whole Man, let him be never ſo much raiſed above the ordinary Level.

Theſe two oppoſite Qualifications, being placed in one Man, make him ſuch an ambiguous divided Creature, that he doth not know how to move.

It is beſt to keep Men within their proper Sphere; few Men have underſtanding enough exactly to fill even one narrow Circle, fewer are able to fill two; eſpecially when they are both of ſo great compaſs, and that they are ſo contrary in their own Natures.

The

The Wages he hath as a Member, and thoſe he receiveth as an Officer, are paid for Services that are very differing; and in the doubt which of them ſhould be preferably performed, it is likely the greater Salary may direct him, without the further Inducements of Complying moſt, where he may expect moſt Advantage by it.

In ſhort, if his Dependance is not very great, it will make him a Scurvy Officer; if it is great, it will make him a Scurvier Member.

XVIII. Men under the Scandal of being thought Private Penſioners, are too fair a Mark to eſcape being conſider'd, in reference to the Point in Queſtion.

In caſe of plain Evidence, it is not to be ſuppoſed poſſible, that Men Convicted of ſuch a Crime ſhould ever again be Elected.

The Difficulty is in determining what is to be done in Caſe of Suſpicion.

There are Suſpicions ſo well grounded, that they may pretend to have the Force of Proofs, provided the Penalty goeth only to the forbearing to Truſt, but not extending it ſo far as to Puniſh.

There muſt be ſome Things plain and expreſs to juſtify the latter, but Circumſtances may be ſufficient for the former: As where Men have had ſuch ſudden Cures of their Ill-Humours and Oppoſition to the Court, that it is out of the way of ordinary Methods of Recovery from ſuch Diſtempers, which have a ſuch ſlower Progreſs; it muſt naturally be imputed

puted to ſome Specifick that maketh ſuch a quick Alteration of the whole Maſs of Blood.

Where Men have raiſed their Way of Living, without any viſible Means to ſupport them in it, a Suſpicion is juſtified, even by the Example of the Law, which in Caſes of this Kind, though of an inferior Nature, doth upon this Foundation, not only raiſe Inferences, but inflict Puniſhments.

Where Men are Immoral, and Scandalous in their Lives, and diſpenſe familiarly with the Rules by which the World is Govern'd, for the better preſerving the Bonds of Human Society; it muſt be a Confidence very ill placed, to conclude it impoſſible for ſuch Men to yield to a Temptation well offer'd and purſu'd; when, the Truth is, the Habit of ſuch *Bons vivants*, which is the faſhionable Word, maketh a Suſpicion ſo likely, that it is very hard not to believe it to be true.

If there ſhould be nothing but the general Report, even that is not to be neglected.

Common Fame is the only Liar that deſerveth to have ſome Reſpect ſtill reſerv'd to it; tho' ſhe telleth many an Untruth, ſhe often hits right, and moſt eſpecially when ſhe ſpeaketh ill of Men.

Her Credit hath ſometimes been carried too far, when it hath gone to the Diveſting Men of any thing of which they were Poſſeſs'd, without more expreſs Evidence to juſtify ſuch a Proceeding.

If there was a Doubt whether there ever was any Corruption of this Kind, it would alter the Question; but sure that will not bear the being controverted.

We are told, that *Charles* the Vth sent over into *England* 1200000 Crowns to be distributed amongst the Leading Men, to encourage them to carry on Elections.

Here was the Protestant Religion to be bought out for a valuable Consideration according to Law, though not according to Gospel, which exalteth it above any Price that can be set upon it.

Now, except we had reason to believe that the Virtue of the World is improv'd since that time, we can as little doubt that such Temptations may be offered, as that they may be received.

It will be owned, that there is to be a great Tenderness in Suspecting; but it must be allow'd at the same time, that there ought not to be less in Trusting, where the People are so much concern'd; especially, when the Penalty upon the Party suspected goeth no further than a Suspension of that Confidence, which it is necessary to have in those who are to represent the Nation in Parliament.

I cannot omit the giving a Caution against admitting Men to be Chosen, who have Places of any Value.

There needeth the less to be said upon this Article, the Truth of the Proposition being supported by such plain Arguments.

Sure

Sure no Man hath such a plentiful Spring of Thought, as that all that floweth from it, is too much to be applied to the Business of Parliament.

It is not less sure, that a Member of Parliament, of all others, ought not to be exempted from the Rule, That no Man should serve two Masters.

It doth so split a Man's Thoughts, that no Man can know how to make a fitting Distribution of them to two such differing Capacities.

It exposeth Men to be suspected and tempted, more than is convenient for the Publick Service, or for the mutual good Opinion of one another, which there ought to be in such an Assembly.

It either giveth a real Dependance upon the Government, which is inconsistent with the Necessity there is, that a Member of Parliament should be disengaged; or at least it hath the Appearance of it, which maketh them not look like Freemen, though they should have Virtue enough to be so.

More Reasons would lessen the Weight of this last, which is, That a Bill to this Effect, commonly called the *Self-denying Bill*, pass'd even this last House of Commons.

A greater Demonstration of the irresistible Strength of Truth cannot possibly be given: So that a Copy of that Bill in every County or Borough, would hardly fail of discouraging such Pretenders from Standing; or at least it would prevent their Success, if their own Mo-

deſty ſhould not reſtrain them from attempting it.

XX. If Diſtinctions may be made upon particular Men, or Remarks fix'd upon their Votes in Parliament, they muſt be allow'd in relation to thoſe Gentlemen, who for Reaſons beſt known to themſelves, thought fit to be againſt the *Triennial Bill.*

The Liberty of Opinion is the thing in the World that ought leaſt to be controul'd, and eſpecially in Parliament.

But as that is an undoubted Aſſertion, it is not leſs ſo, that when Men ſin againſt their own Light, give a Vote againſt their own Thought, they muſt not plead Privilege of Parliament againſt the being Arraigned for it by others, after they are Convicted of it by themſelves.

There cannot be a Man, who in his Definition of a Houſe of Commons, will ſtate it to be an Aſſembly, that for the better redreſſing of Grievances the People feel, and for the better furniſhing ſuch Supplies as they can bear, is to continue, if the King ſo pleaſeth, for his whole Reign.

This could be as little intended, as to throw all into one Hand, and to renounce the Claim to any Liberty, but ſo much as the Sovereign Authority would allow.

It deſtroyeth the End of Parliaments; it maketh uſe of the Letter of the Law, to extinguiſh the Life of it.

It is, in truth, ſome Kind of Diſparagement to ſo plain a thing, that ſo much has been ſaid and written upon it; and one may ſay, it is ſuch an Affront to theſe Gentlemens Underſtandings, to cenſure this Vote only as a Miſtake, that, as the Age goeth, it is leſs Diſcredit to them to call it by its right Name, and if that is rightly underſtood by thoſe who are to chuſe them, I ſuppoſe they will let them exerciſe their Liberty of Conſcience at Home, and not make Men their Truſtees, who in this Solemn Inſtance have ſuch an Unwillingneſs to ſurrender.

It muſt be own'd, that this Bill hath met with very hard Fortune; and yet that doth not in the leaſt diminiſh the Value of it.

It had in it ſuch a Root of Life, that it might be ſaid, it was not dead, but ſleeped; and we ſee that the laſt Seſſion, it was revived and animated by the Royal Aſſent, when once fully inform'd of the Conſequence, as well as of the Juſtice of it.

In the mean time, after having told my Opinion, Who ought not to be choſen;

If I ſhould be asked, Who ought to be? my Anſwer muſt be, Chuſe *Engliſhmen*; and when I have ſaid that, to deal honeſtly, I will not undertake that they are eaſy to be found.

A Rough Draught OF A NEW MODEL AT SEA, 1694.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCXVII.

A

[illegible]

OF A

NEW MODEL

AT

[illegible]

[illegible]

LONDON:

Printed in the Year M DCC XVII.

A Rough Draught OF A New Model at SEA, 1694.

I Will make no other Introduction to the following Diſcourſe, than that as the Importance of our being ſtrong at *Sea* was ever very great, ſo in our preſent Circumſtances it is grown to be much greater; becauſe, as formerly our Force of Shipping contributed greatly to our *Trade* and Safety; ſo now it is become indiſpenſibly neceſſary to our very *Being*.

It may be ſaid now to *England*, *Martha*, *Martha*, thou art buſy about many things; but one thing is neceſſary to the Queſtion, What ſhall we do to be Saved in this World? There is no other Anſwer but this, Look to your Moat.

The first Article of an *Englishman's* Political Creed must be, That he believeth in the Sea, &c. without that there needed no General Council to pronounce him capable of Salvation here.

We are in an Island, confin'd to it by God Almighty, not as a Penalty, but a Grace, and one of the greatest that can be given to Mankind. Happy Confinement, that has made us Free, Rich, and Quiet; a fair Portion in this World, and very well worth the preserving; a Figure that ever hath been envied, and could never be imitated by our Neighbours. Our Situation hath made Greatness abroad by Land-Conquests unnatural Things to us. It is true, we made Excursions, and Glorious ones too, which make our Names great in History, but they did not last.

Admit the *English* to be Giants in Courage, yet they must not hope to succeed in making War against Heaven, which seemeth to have enjoined them to acquiesce in being happy within their own Circle. It is no Paradox to say, That *England* hath its Root in the Sea, and a deep one too, from whence it sendeth its Branches into both the *Indies*. We may say further in our present Case, That if *Allegiance* is due to *Protection*, ours to the Sea is due from that Rule, since by that, and by that alone, we are to be protected; and if we have of late suffered Usurpation of other Methods, contrary to the Homage we owe to that which must preserve us, it is time now to restore the

Sea

Sea to its Right; and as there is no Repentance effectual without Amendment, so there is not a Moment to be loſt in their going about it.

It is not pretended to launch into ſuch a Voluminous Treatiſe, as to ſet down every thing to which ſo comprehenſive a Subject might lead me; for as the Sea hath little leſs Variety in it than the Land, ſo the Naval Force of *England* extendeth it ſelf into a great many Branches, each of which are important enough to require a Diſcourſe apart, and peculiarly applied to it. But there muſt be Preference to ſome Conſideration above others, when the Weight of them is ſo viſibly ſuperior, that it cannot be conteſted. It is there, firſt, that the Foundations are to be laid of our Naval Oeconomy. Amongſt theſe, there is one Article which in its own Nature muſt be allowed to be the Corner Stone of the Building:

The Choice of *Officers*, with the *Diſcipline* and *Encouragement* belonging to them. Upon this Head only, I ſhall then take the Liberty to venture my Opinion into the World, with a real Submiſſion to thoſe, who may offer any thing better for the Advantage of the Publick.

The firſt Queſtion then will be, Out of what Sort of Men the *Officers* of the *Fleet* are to be Choſen? And this immediately leadeth us to the preſent Controverſy between the *Gentlemen* and the *Tarpaulins*.

The uſual Objections on both Sides are too general to be rely'd upon. Partiality and common Prejudices direct moſt Mens Opinions, with

without entring into the particular Reaſons, which ought to be the Ground of it. There is ſo much Eaſe in acquieſcing in Generals, that the Ignorance of thoſe who cannot diſtinguiſh, and the Largeneſs of thoſe who will not, maketh Men very apt to decline the trouble of ſtricter Enquiries, which they think too great a Price for being in the Right, let it be never ſo valuable.

This maketh them judge in the Lump, and either let their Opinions ſwim along with the Stream of the World, or give them up wholly to be directed by Succeſs. The Effect of this is, that they change their Minds upon every preſent Uneaſineſs, wanting a ſteady Foundation upon which their Judgment ſhould be formed. This is a Searching upon the Twigs of Things, and not going to the Root. But ſure the Matter in queſtion deſerveth to be examined in another Manner, ſince ſo much dependeth upon it.

To ſtate the Thing impartially, it muſt be owned that it ſeemeth to lie faireſt for the *Tarpaulin*: It giveth an Impreſſion that muſt have ſo much Weight as to make a Man's Opinion lean very much on that ſide; it carrieth ſo much Authority with it, ſeemeth to be ſo unqueſtionable, that thoſe are fitteſt to Command at Sea, who have not only made it their *Calling*, but their *Element*; that there muſt naturally be a Prejudice to any Thing that can be ſaid againſt it. There muſt therefore be ſome Reaſon extraordinary to ſupport the Argument

gument on the other ſide, or elſe the Gentlemen could never Enter the Liſts againſt ſuch a violent Objection, which ſeemeth not to be reſiſted. I will introduce my Argument with an Aſſertion, which as I take to be true almoſt in all Caſes, ſo it is neceſſary to be explained and enforced in this. The *Aſſertion* is, that there is hardly a ſingle Propoſition to be made, which is not deceitful, and the tying our Reaſon too cloſe to it, may in many Caſes be deſtructive. Circumſtances muſt come in, and are to be made a Part of the Matter of which we are to judge; poſitive *Deciſions* are always dangerous, more eſpecially in *Politicks*. A Man, who will be Maſter of an Argument, muſt do like a skilful General, who ſendeth Scouts on all Sides, to ſee whether there may not be an Enemy. So he muſt look round to ſee what Objections can be made, and not go on in a ſtrait Line, which is the ready Way to lead him into a Miſtake.

Before then that we conclude what ſort of Men are fitteſt to Command at Sea, a Principle is to be laid down, that there is a differing Conſideration to be had of ſuch a Subject-Matter, as is in it ſelf diſtinct and independent, and of ſuch a one as being a Limb of a Body, or a Wheel of a Frame, there is a Neceſſity of ſuiting it to the reſt, and preſerving the Harmony of the whole. A Man muſt not in that Caſe reſtrain himſelf to the ſeparate Conſideration of that ſingle Part, but muſt take care it may fall in and agree with the

the Shape of the whole Creature, of which it is a Member. According to this Propoſition, which I take to be indiſputable, it will not, I hope, appear an Affectation, or an extravagant Fit of unſeaſonable Politicks, if, before I enter into the particular State of the preſent Queſtion, I ſay ſomething of the Government of *England*, and make that the Ground-work of what ſort of Men are moſt proper to be made uſe of to Command at Sea.

The Forms of Government to which *England* muſt be Subjected, are either *Abſolute Monarchy*, a *Common-wealth*, or a *Mixt Monarchy*, as it is now; with thoſe natural Alterations that the Exigency of Affairs may from time to time ſuggeſt. As to Abſolute Monarchy, I will not allow my ſelf to be tranſported into ſuch Invectives, as are generally made againſt it; neither am I ready to enter into the aggravating Stile of calling every Thing *Slavery*, that reſtraineth Men in any part of their Freedom: One may diſcern in this, as in moſt other Things, the Good and Bad of it. We ſee by too near an Inſtance, what *France* doth by it; it doth not only ſtruggle with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, but is in a fair way of giving Law to it.

This is owing in great Meaſure to a *Deſpotick* and Undivided Power; the uncontroulable Authority of the Directive Councils maketh every Thing move without Diſorder or Oppoſition, which muſt give an Advantage, that is plain enough of it ſelf, without being proved by

by the Melancholy Experience we have of it at this time.

I ſee and admire this; yet I conſider at the ſame time, that all Things of this Kind are comparative: That as on one ſide, without *Government* Men cannot enjoy what belongeth to them in particular, nor can a Nation be ſecure, or preſerve it ſelf in general: So on the other ſide, the End of *Government* being, that Mankind ſhould live in ſome competent State of Freedom, it is very unnatural to have the *End* deſtroyed by the *Means* that were originally made uſe of to attain it. In this Reſpect, ſomething is to be ventured, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a precarious State of Life, as would make it a Burthen to a reaſonable Creature; and therefore, after I have owned the Advantages in ſome kind of an Unlimited Government; yet, while they are attended with ſo many other diſcouraging Circumſtances, I cannot think but that they may be bought too dear; and if it ſhould be ſo, that it is not poſſible for a *State* to be *Great* and *Glorious*, unleſs the Subjects are *wretchedly Miſerable*; I am not aſhamed to own my Low-ſpirited Frailty, in preferring ſuch a Model of Government, as may agree with the reaſonable Enjoyment of a *Free People*, before ſuch a one, by which Empire is to be Extended at ſuch an unnatural Price. Beſides, whatever Mens Opinions may be one way or another in the general Queſtion, there is an Argument in our Caſe that ſhutteth the Door to any Anſwer to it; (*Viz.*)

We cannot ſubſiſt under a *Deſpotick* Power, our very Being would be deſtroyed by it; for we are to conſider, we are a very little Spot in the Map of the World, and make a great Figure only by *Trade*, which is the Creature of Liberty; one deſtroyed, the other falleth to the Ground by a natural Conſequence, that will not admit a Diſpute. If we would be meaſured by our Acres, we are poor inconſiderable People; we are exalted above our natural Bounds, by our good Laws, and our excellent Conſtitution. By this we are not only happy at Home, but conſiderable Abroad. Our Situation, our Humour, our Trade, do all concur to ſtrengthen this Argument. So that all other Reaſons muſt give place to ſuch a one as maketh it out, that there is no Mean between a *Free Nation* and *No Nation*.

We are no more a People, nor *England* can no longer keep its Name, from the Moment that our Liberties are extinguiſh'd; the Vital Strength that ſhould ſupport us being withdrawn, we ſhould then be no more than the Carcaſs of a Nation, with no other Security than that of *Contempt*; and to ſubſiſt upon no other Tenure, than that we ſhould be below the giving Temptation to our ſtronger Neighbours to devour us. In my Judgment, therefore, there is ſuch a ſhort Deciſion to be made upon this Subject, that in Relation to *England*, an *Abſolute Monarchy* is as an unreaſonable Thing to be wiſhed, as I hope it will be impoſſible to be obtained.

It

It must be considered in the next Place, whether *England* is likely to be turn'd into a Commonwealth. It is hard at any time to determine what will be the Shape of the next Revolution, much more at this time would it be inexcusably arrogant to undertake it. Who can foresee whether it will be from without, or from within, or from both? Whether with or without the Concurrence of the People? Whether regularly produced, or violently imposed? I shall not therefore *Magisterially* declare it impossible, that a *Commonwealth* should be settled here; but I may give my humble Opinion, that according to all Appearances, it is very improbable.

I will first lay it down for a Principle, that it is not a sound way of Arguing to say, that if it can be made out, that the Form of a *Commonwealth* will best suit with the Interest of the Nation, it must for that Reason of Necessity prevail.

I will not deny, but that *Interest* will not lie, is a right *Maxim*, where ever it is sure to be understood; else one had as good affirm, that no Man in particular, nor Mankind in general, can ever be mistaken. A Nation is a great while before they can see, and generally they must feel first before their Sight is quite cleared. This *maketh* it so long before they can see their *Interest*, that for the most part it is too late for them to pursue it: If Men must be supposed always to follow their true *Interest*, it must be meant of a New Manufactory of

Mankind,

Mankind by God Almighty; there muſt be ſome new *Clay*, the old *Stuff* never yet made any ſuch Infallible Creature.

This being premis'd, it is to be enquired, Whether inſtead of Inclination, or a Leaning towards a *Commonwealth*, there is not in *England* a general Diſlike to it; if this be ſo, as I take it to be, by a very great Diſparity in Numbers; it will be in vain to diſpute the *Reaſon*, whilſt *Humour* is againſt it. Allowing the Weight that is due to the Argument, which may be alledged for it; yet, if the *Herd* is againſt it, the going about to convince them, would have no other Effect than to ſhew, that nothing can be more impertinent than good *Reaſons*, when they are miſplaced or ill-timed.

I muſt obſerve, that there muſt be ſome previous Diſpoſitions in all great Changes, to facilitate and to make way for them: I think it not at all abſurd if I affirm, that ſuch Reſolutions are ſeldom made at all, except by the general Preparations of Men's Minds they are half made before, and it is plainly viſible that Men go about them.

Though it ſeemeth to me that the Argument alone maketh all others unneceſſary, yet I muſt take notice, that beſides what hath been ſaid upon this Subject, there are certain Preliminaries to the firſt Building a *Commonwealth*, Some Materials abſolutely neceſſary for the carrying on ſuch a *Fabrick*, which at preſent are wanting amongſt us; I mean *Virtue*, *Morality*, *Diligence*,

Diligence, or at leaſt *Hypocriſy*. Now this Age is ſo plain-dealing, as not to Diſſemble, ſo far as to an outward Pretence of *Qualities*, which ſeem at preſent ſo *Unfaſhionable*, and under ſo much Diſcountenance.

From whence we may draw a plain and natural Inference, that a *Commonwealth* is not fit for us, becauſe we are not fit for a *Commonwealth*.

This being granted, the Suppoſition of this Form of Government of *England*, with all its Conſequences as to the preſent Queſtion, muſt be excluded, and *Abſolute Monarchy* having been ſo too by the Reaſons at once alledged, it will without further Examination fall to a *Mixt Government*, as we now are. I will not ſay, that there is never to be any Alteration; the Conſtitution of the ſeveral Parts that concur to make up the Frame of the Preſent Government, may be altered in many Things, in ſome for the better, and in others perhaps for the worſe, according as Circumſtances ſhall ariſe to induce a *Change*; and as Paſſion and Intereſt ſhall have more or leſs Influence upon the Publick Councils; but ſtill, if it remaineth in the whole ſo far a *Mixt Monarchy*, that there ſhall be a Reſtraint upon the *Prince*, as to the Exerciſe of a *Deſpotick Power*, it is enough to make it a Ground-work for the preſent Queſtion. It appeareth then, that a *bounded Monarchy* is that kind of Government which will moſt probably prevail and continue in *England*; from whence it muſt follow (as hath

hath been hinted before) that every conſiderable Part ought to be ſo compoſed, as the better to conduce to the preſerving the Harmony of the whole Conſtitution. The *Navy* is of ſo great Importance, that it would be diſparaged by calling it leſs than the *Life* and *Soul* of *Government*.

Therefore to apply the Argument to the Subject we are upon; in Caſe the *Officers* be all *Tarpaulins*, it would be in reality too great a Tendency to a *Commonwealth*; ſuch a Part of the Conſtitution being *Democratically* diſpoſed, may be ſuſpected to endeavour to bring it into that Shape; where the Influence muſt be ſo ſtrong, and the Suppoſition will be the more juſtifiable. In ſhort, if the *Maritime Force*, which is the only thing that can defend us, ſhould be wholly directed by the lower ſort of Men, with an entire Excluſion of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; it will not be eaſy to anſwer the Arguments ſupported by ſo great a Probability, that ſuch a Scheme would not only lean towards a *Democracy*, but directly lead us into it.

Let us now examine the contrary Propoſition, (*viz.*) *That all Officers ſhould be Gentlemen.*

Here the Objection lieth ſo fair, of its Introducing an *Arbitrary Government*, that it is as little to be anſwered in that Reſpect, as the former is in the other. *Gentlemen* in a general Definition, will be ſuſpected to lie more than other Men under the Temptations of being

ing made Inſtruments of Unlimited Power; their Relations, their Way of Living, their Taſte of the Entertainments of the *Court*, inſpire an Ambition that generally draweth their Inclinations toward it, beſides the gratifying of their Intereſts. Men of Quality are often taken with the Ornaments of Government, the Splendor dazzleth them ſo, as that their Judgments are ſurpriz'd by it; and there will be always ſome that have ſo little remorſe for invading other Men's Liberties, that it maketh them leſs ſolicitous to preſerve their own.

Theſe Things throw them naturally into ſuch a Dependance, as might give a dangerous Bias; if they alone were in Command at Sea, it would make that great Wheel turn by an irregular Motion; and inſtead of being the chief Means of preſerving the whole Frame, might come to be the chief Inſtruments to diſcompoſe and diſſolve it.

The two further excluſive Propoſitions being neceſſarily to be excluded in this Queſtion, there remaineth no other Expedient, neither can any other Concluſion be drawn from the Argument, as it hath been ſtated, than that there muſt be a Mixtu re in the Navy, of *Gentlemen* and *Tarpaulins*, as there is in the Conſtitution of the Government, of *Power* and *Liberty*. This Mixture is not to be ſo rigorouſly defined, as to ſet down the exact Proportion there is to be of each; the greater or leſſer Number muſt be directed by Circumſtances, of which the Government is to judge, and

and which makes it improper to ſet ſuch Bounds, as that upon no Occaſion it ſhall on either ſide be leſſened or enlarged. It is poſſible, the Men of *Wapping* may think they are injur'd, by giving them any Partners in the Dominion of the *Sea*; they may take it unkindly to be joſtled in their own *Element* by Men of ſuch a different Education, that they may be ſaid to be of another Species; they will be apt to think it an Uſurpation upon them, and notwithſtanding the Inſtances that are againſt them, and which give a kind of Preſcription on the other ſide, they will not eaſily acquieſce in what they conceive to be a Hardſhip to them.

But I ſhall in a good meaſure reconcile my ſelf to them by what follows; (*viz.*) The *Gentlemen* ſhall not be capable of bearing Office at *Sea*, except they be *Tarpaulins* too; that is to ſay, except they are ſo trained up by a continued Habit of living at *Sea*, that they may have a right to be admitted free *Denizens* of *Wapping*. Upon this dependeth the whole Matter; and indeed here lieth the Difficulty, becauſe the *Gentlemen* brought up under the Connivance of a looſer Diſcipline, and of an eaſier Admittance, will take it heavily to be reduced within the *Fetters* of ſuch a *New Model*; and I conclude, they will be extremely averſe to that which they call an unreaſonable Yoke upon them, that their Original Conſent is never to be expected. But if it appeareth to be convenient, and which is more, that it

is

is neceſſary for the Preſervation of the whole that it ſhould be ſo; the Government muſt be call'd in Aid to ſuppreſs theſe firſt Boilings of Diſcontent; the Rules muſt be impoſed with ſuch Authority, and the Execution of them muſt be ſo well ſupported, that by Degrees their Impatience will be ſubdued, and they will concur in an Eſtabliſhment to which they will every Day be more reconciled.

They will find it will take away the Objections which are now thrown upon them, of ſetting up for Maſters without having ever been Apprentices; or at leaſt, without having ſerved out their Time.

Mankind naturally ſwelleth againſt Favour and Partiality; their Belief of their own Merit maketh Men object them to a proſperous Competitor, even when there is no Pretence for it; but when there is the leaſt Handle offered, to be ſure it will be taken. So, in this Caſe, when a *Gentleman* is prefer'd at *Sea*, the *Tarpaulin* is very apt to impute it to Friend or Favour: But if that *Gentleman* hath before his Preferment paſſed through all the Steps which lead to it, that he ſmelleth as much of *Pitch* and *Tar*, as thoſe that were *Swadled* in *Sailcloath*; his having an *Eſcutcheon* will be ſo far from doing him harm, that it will ſet him upon the Advantage-Ground: It will draw a real Reſpect to his Quality when ſo ſupported, and give him an Influence and Authority infinitely ſuperior to that which the *mere Seamen* can never pretend to.

When

When a *Gentleman* hath learned how to *Obey*, he will grow very much fitter to *Command*; his own Memory will adviſe him not to inflict too rigorous Puniſhments. He will better reſiſt the Temptations of Authority (which are great) when he reflecteth how much he hath at other times wiſhed it might be gently exerciſed, when he was liable to the Rigor of it.

When the undiſtinguiſh'd *Diſcipline* of a Ship hath tamed the young Maſterſhip, which is apt to ariſe from a *Gentleman*'s Birth and Education; He then groweth Proud in the right Place, and valueth himſelf firſt upon knowing his Duty, and then upon doing *it*.

In plain *Engliſh*, Men of *Quality* in their ſeveral Degrees muſt either reſtore themſelves to a better Opinion, both for *Morality* and *Diligence*, or elſe *Quality* it ſelf will be in danger of being extinguiſhed.

The Original *Gentleman* is almoſt loſt in Strictneſs, when Poſterity doth not ſtill further adorn by their Virtue the Eſcutcheon their Anceſtors firſt got for them by their Merit; they deſerve the Penalty of being deprived of it.

To expect that *Quality* alone ſhould waft Men up into *Places* and *Employments*, is as unreaſonable, as to think that a Ship, becauſe it is Carved and Guilded, ſhould be fit to go to *Sea* without *Sails* or *Tackling*. But when a *Gentleman* maketh no other uſe of his *Quality*, than to incite him the more to his Duty, it will give ſuch a true and ſettled *Superiority*, as muſt deſtroy all Competition from thoſe that are below him.

It

It is time now to go to the Probationary Qualifications of an *Officer* at *Sea*: And I have ſome to offer, which I have digeſted in my Thoughts, I hope impartially, that they may not be Speculative Notions, but things eaſy and practicable, if the directing Powers will give due Countenance and Encouragement to the Execution of them. But whilſt I am going about to ſet them down, though this little *Eſſay* was made to no other End, than to introduce them, I am upon better Recollection, induced to put a Reſtraint upon my ſelf, and rather retract the Promiſe I made at the beginning, than by adviſing the particular Methods, by which I conceive the good *End* that is aimed at may be obtained, to incur the Imputation of the Thing of the World, of which I would leaſt be guilty, which is of anticipating, by my private Opinion, the Judgment of the Parliament, or ſeeming out of my ſlender Stock of Reaſon to dictate to the Supreme Wiſdom of the Nation. They will, no doubt, conſider the preſent Eſtabliſhments for *Diſcipline* at *Sea*, which are many of them very good, and if well executed, might go a great way in the preſent Queſtion. But I will not ſay they are ſo perfect, but that other may be added to make them more effectual, and that ſome more Supplemental Expedients may be neceeſſary to compleat what is yet defective: And whenever the *Parliament* ſhall think fit to take this Matter into their Conſideration, I am ſure they will not want for their Direction,

the Auxiliary Reaſons of any Man without Doors, much leſs of one, whoſe Thoughts are ſo entirely and unaffectedly reſigned to whatever they ſhall determine in this, or any Thing elſe relating to the Publick.

MAX-

MAXIMS
OF
STATE.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCXVII.

ВЕЛИКАМ
О
ЧЕТАЊЕ

MAXIMS OF STATE.

1. THAT a Prince who falleth out with *Laws*, breaketh with his beſt *Friends*.

2. That the exalting his own *Authority* above his *Laws*, is like letting in his *Enemy* to Surprize his *Guards*. The Laws are the only Guards he can be ſure will never run away from him.

3. A *Prince* that will ſay he can do no Good, except he may do every Thing; teacheth the People to ſay, They are *Slaves*, if they muſt not do whatever they have a Mind to.

4. That *Power* and *Liberty* are like *Heat* and *Moiſture*; where they are well-mixt, every Thing proſpers; where they are ſingle, they are deſtructive.

5. That *Arbitrary Power* is like moſt other Things, that are very hard, they are alſo very apt to break.

6. That the Profit of Places ſhould be meaſured as they are more or leſs conducing to the *Publick Service*; and if Buſineſs is more neceſſary than Splendor, the Inſtruments of it ought in Proportion to be better paid; that the contrary Method is as impertinent, as it would be to let the Carving of a Ship coſt more than all the reſt of it.

7. That where the leaſt uſeful Part of the People have the moſt Credit with the *Prince*, Men will conclude, that the way to get every thing is to be good for nothing.

8. That an extravagant Gift to one Man, raiſeth the Market to every Body elſe; ſo that in Conſequence, the unlimited Bounty of an unthinking Prince maketh him a *Beggar*, let him have never ſo much *Money*.

9. That if ordinary Beggars are *Whipp'd*, the daily Beggars in fine Cloaths (out of a proportionable Reſpect to their *Quality*) ought to be *Hang'd*.

10. That *Pride* is as loud a Beggar as Want, and a great deal more Sawcy.

11. That a *Prince*, who will give more to Importunity than Merit, had as good ſet out a Proclamation to all his Loving Subjects, forbidding them to do well, upon the Penalty of being undone by it.

12. That

12. That a wiſe *Prince* will not oblige his *Courtiers*, who are *Birds* of *Prey*, ſo as to diſoblige his *People*, who are *Beaſts* of *Burthen*.

13. That it is ſafer for a Prince to judge of Men by what they do to one another, than that they do to him.

14. That it is a groſs Miſtake to think, that a Knave between Man and Man, can be honeſt to a King, whom of all other Men generally they make the leaſt Scruple to deceive.

15. That a Prince who can ever truſt the Man that hath once deceived him, loſeth the Right of being Faithfully dealt with by any other Perſon.

16. That it is not poſſible for a Prince to find out ſuch an *Honeſt Knave*, as will let no Body elſe *Cheat* him.

17. That if a Prince does not ſhew an Averſion to Knaves, there will be an Inference that will be very Natural, let it be never ſo Unmannerly.

18. That a *Prince* who followeth his own Opinion too ſoon, is in danger of repenting it too late.

19. That it is leſs Dangerous for a *Prince* to mind too much what the *People* ſay, than too little.

20. That the *Prince* is to take care that the greater Part of the People may not be angry at the ſame time; for though the firſt beginning of their *Ill Humour* ſhould be againſt one another, yet if not ſtopt, it will naturally end in *Anger* againſt him.

21. That if *Princes* would *Reflect* how much they are in the Power of their *Miniſters*, they would be more circumſpect in the *Choice* of them.

22. That a wiſe *Prince* will ſupport good Servants againſt Men's Anger, and not ſupport ill ones againſt their Complaint.

23. That *Parties* in a *State* generally, like *Free-booters*, hang out *Falſe Colours*; the Pretence is the *Publick Good*; the real *Buſineſs* is, to catch *Prizes*; like the *Tartars*, where-ever they ſucceed, inſtead of Improving their *Victory*, they preſently fall upon the *Baggage*.

24. That a *Prince* may play ſo long between *Two Parties*, that they may in time joyn together, and be in earneſt with him.

25. That there is more *Dignity* in open *Violence*, than in the unskilful *Cunning* of a *Prince*, who goeth about to *Impoſe* upon the *People*.

26. That the *People* will ever ſuſpect the *Remedies* for the *Diſeaſes* of the *State*, where they are wholly excluded from ſeeing how they are prepared.

27. That changing *Hands* without changing *Meaſures*, is as if a *Drunkard* in a *Dropſy* ſhould change his *Doctors* and not his *Diet*.

28. That a *Prince* is to watch that his *Reaſon* may not be ſo ſubdued by his *Nature*, as not to be ſo much a *Man* of *Peace*, as to be a Jeſt in an *Army*; nor ſo much a *Man* of *War*, as to be out of his *Element* in his *Council*.

29. That a *Man* who cannot mind his own *Buſineſs*, is not to be truſted with the *King's*,

30. That

30. That *Quality* alone ſhould only ſerve to make a ſhew in the Embroidered Part of the *Government*; but that *Ignorance*, though never ſo well born, ſhould never be admitted to ſpoil the *Publick Buſineſs*.

31. That he who thinks his *Place* below him, will certainly be below his *Place*.

32. That when a *Princes Example* ceaſeth to have the Force of a *Law*, it is a ſure Sign that his Power is waſting, and that there is but little Diſtance between Men's neglecting to Imitate, and their refuſing to Obey.

33. That a People may let a King fall, yet ſtill remain a People; but if a King let his People ſlip from him, he is no longer King.

A LETTER *ſent by his* LORDSHIP *to* CHARLES COTTON, *Eſq; upon his New Tranſlation and Dedication of* Montaigne's *Eſſays.*

SIR,

I Have too long delay'd my *Thanks* to you for giving me ſuch an obliging *Evidence* of your *Remembrance*: That alone would have been a welcome *Preſent*, but when join'd with the *Book* in the World I am the beſt entertained with, it raiſeth a ſtrong Deſire in me to be better *known*, where I am ſure to be ſo much *pleaſed*. I have till now thought *Wit* could not be *Tranſlated*, and do ſtill retain ſo much of that Opinion, that I believe it impoſſible, except by one whoſe *Genius* cometh up to that of the *Author*. You have ſo kept the Original *Strength* of his *Thought*, that it almoſt tempts a Man to believe the *Tranſmigration* of *Souls*, and that his being uſed to *Hills*, is come into the *Moor-Lands* to Reward us here in *England*, for doing him more Right than his Country will afford him. He hath by your Means mend-

ed

ed his First *Edition*: To transplant and make him ours, is not only a Valuable *Acquisition* to us, but a Just *Censure* of the Critical *Impertinence* of those *French Scriblers* who have taken Pains to make little *Cavils* and *Exceptions*, to lessen the Reputation of this Great *Man*, whom Nature hath made too big to Confine himself to the Exactness of a Studied Stile. He let his *Mind* have its full *Flight*, and sheweth by a generous Kind of *Negligence* that he did not Write for Praise, but to give to the World a true Picture of himself and of Mankind. He scorned *Affected Periods*, or to please the mistaken Reader with an empty *Chime* of *Words*. He hath no *Affectation* to set himself out, and dependeth wholly upon the *Natural Force* of what is his own, and the Excellent Application of what he borroweth.

You see, Sir, I have kindness enough for *Monsieur de Montaigne* to be your *Rival*, but no Body can pretend to be in equal Competition with you: I do willingly yield, which is no small Matter for a Man to do, to a more prosperous *Lover*; and if you will repay this Piece of Justice with another, pray believe, that he who can *Translate* such an *Author* without doing him Wrong, must not only make me *Glad* but *Proud* of being his.

Very Humble Servant.

HALLIFAX.

Sacellum

Sacellum Apollinare.

A

Funeral POEM,

TO THE

MEMORY

OF THAT

Great Patriot and Statesman,

GEORGE,

Marquiss of *HALLIFAX.*

AS HEAV'N it Self's on *Empire's* Axis Roll'd,
(For Godhead's but Dominion Uncontroul'd;)
So the *Crown'd Head*, the Sublunary *JOVE*,
Does, in his Loyal *Orb* of *Glory*, move;
With all his *Bolts of Fate*, in his High-Post
Of *Sovereign Pow'r*, the weilded *Thunder* boast.

But, in the higheſt tow'ring Flight of Kings,
'Tis the Great *Stateſman* plumes their *Eagles* [Wings;
They move the Great *Machine*, *He* Sets the [*Springs*.
And thus, whilſt Pregnant EMPIRE's *La-* [*bouring Head*.
With ſome vaſt *Off-ſpring* teems; the *Stateſ-* [*man*'s Aid,
To bring the Fair Divine *Minerva* forth,
Is call'd the Great *Lucina* to the *Birth*.
Wiſdom and *Counſel*! 'Tis their Min'ſtring Ray,
Thoſe Bright CROWN-*Genij*, cheer th' [*Imperial Sway*:
The *Harmony* of WORLDS is only Theirs;
Empire but Guides, 'tis *They* that Tune the [*Spheres*.
Counſel, in Church or State, the *Warmth*, by [whom
Aaron's and *Moſes*'s Budding *Wands* both [bloom:
Thus MONARCHY, what, tho' She Reigns [*Alone*,
'Tis by her *Argus*-Eyes She Guards her [Throne:
Her *Lights* an Hundred, tho' her *Hand*'s but [One.

Of thoſe Rich *Lights*, Great HALLIFAX ſhin'd there;
In *Pow'rs* whole *Conſtellation*, None more Fair:
In *Calms* or *Storms*, in every varying *Gale*,
The Furl'd, the Hoyſted, or the Slacken'd *Sail*;

2 The

The *Helm* to Manage, or the *Mates* to Cheer,
No *Pilot-Hand* cou'd ever worthier *Steer*:
TRUST, the Magnetick *Load-Star* of his Soul;
And FAITH, and ZEAL, his *Needles* to the [*Pole*.

The Studied *World* was his Long *Theam*, and [all
The *Politick Monuments* of the Mighty *Ball*:
Yes, the *Old World* He had fathom'd o're and [o're;
Nay, had there been yet *Unknown Globe's* t'explore,
To give that *Head*, that *Reach*, thoſe *Depths*, [their Due,
He'd ſtood a Fair *Columbus*, for the *New*.

In SENATES, There, with all his [*Brighteſt Beams*,
Not *Michael*, to th' Embattl'd *Seraphims*,
A Mightier *Leading* CHIEF: Oraculous *Senſe*:
Victorious *Right*! Amazing *Eloquence*!
All from that cleareſt *Orgwe* ſweetly Sung;
From that bold *Engliſh* CICERO's Silver Tongue,
Well might Great TRUTH, and Genuine [*Juſtice* flow;
For he look'd *Upward*, when he talk'd *Below*,
Up to *ASTRÆA*, Heaven's tranſlated [*Pride*,
Her Righteous *Balance* his Great *Standard* [Guide.

In

In Redreſs'd *Wrongs*, and Succour'd *Rights*
[*APPEAL*,
No Hand, in the *Judiciary Scale*,
More Weigh'd and Pois'd, than HALLIFAX
[alone;
Ev'n *Half* the Great *Tribunal*, was his Own.
But, in that more Exalted *Patriot*-Cauſe,
The Moulding of thoſe *Stamps Imperial*, Laws;
Then, when the whole *Divinity* of *Pow'r*,
In her *Collective Strength*, that Lab'ring Hour,
In her All-wiſe Conſulting *Providence*,
Sits, ſome New Fair *Creations* to Commence;
In that *High Work*, for the Great *FIAT* fixt,
No Hand like *His*, the Sovereign *Elements* mixt.

This Fam'd GAMALIEL in the Great
[*State-Schools*,
Thus by unerring PRUDENCE Sacred Rules,
No wonder, on that *Cardinal Hinge* He mov'd;
In *Pow'r Craft* Skill'd, that Bold *Arts-Maſter*
[prov'd:
The Great *Performing Part* He had Study'd
[thro';
And no leſs learnt the Greater *Duty* too.
The *Publick Spirit*, and the *Active Soul*,
More lively *Warmth*, than e're *Prometheus* ſtole,
Thoſe *Champions* both of *Earth* and *Heaven*'s
[Juſt Right,
Bound by their Great *Indenture Tripartite*,
Their equally divided FAITH muſt bring,
Betwixt their GOD, their *Country*, and their
[*King*.
In

In *Pow'r* and Truſt, thro' his whole Life's long Scene,
Never did *Honour* wear a Hand more *Clean*:
He from the *Iſrael-Prophet*'s Copy drew;
The Suppliant *Naaman* for his Grace might ſue.
Diſtreſs, 'tis true, his Succour ne'r could lack—
But then her *Loded Chariots* muſt go Back.
No *Syrian Bribe* was on his Shoulders worn;
That *Tainted Robe* ſuch TRUTH and VIRTUE Scorn.
Thus, like the *Eden Pair*, Why is *Truth* drawn
A *Naked Beauty*, in Tranſparent Lawn?
Yes, till her *Innocence*, for Impious *Gold*,
That Tempting Falſe *Heſperian Apple*, Sold;
'Tis from that *Fall*, Original *Bluſhes* came:
'Twas then She wanted *Fig-Leaves* for her Shame.
A *Bribe*! That moſt loath'd *Thought*! Ev'n his whole *Roof*,
His humbleſt *Menials*, that Temptation-Proof,
(So Fair their Leading LORD's *Example* ſtands)
Oblige with Frank *Full* Hearts, but *Empty* Hands.
His Favours in that Generous Current run,
As *Providence* vouchſafes her *Rain* and *Sun*.
His *Favours* Cheaper ev'n than *Heaven*'s Conferr'd:
For, though, like *Heav'n*, th' Imploring *Pray'r* He heard;
Yet no *Thankſgiving-Offerings* Return'd,
To his Kind GRACE, no *Gums*, nor *Incenſe* burn'd.

Ay, and 'twas Nobly Brave! What can more
[high,
Than an *Unmercenary Greatneſs* fly?
If ought his *Obligations* muſt Defray,
He rather choſe that *Heav'n*, than *Man* ſhould
[Pay:
Yes, with a Fair *Ambition*, Juſt *Diſdain*,
Scorn'd leſs than *JOVE*, his *Golden Show'rs*
[ſhou'd Rain.
And well ſo High, that *Fair Ambition* tow'r'd;
For HALLIFAX ſo *Scorn'd*, and *JOVE*
[ſo *Show'r'd*:
Whilſt that vaſt *Affluence* Warm'd his *Fruit-*
[*ful Soil*,
'Till his *Rich Glebe*, and *Loaded Harveſt-Pile*,
With that *Increaſe*, that *Milky Canaan* flow'd:
Proſperity thus Reap'd, where *Virtue* Sow'd.

NATURE and FORTUNE, here,
[both *Rivals* joyn'd.
Which to their Darling HALLIFAX, more
[kind,
Should heap the Ampler *Maſs*: *Nature* her
[more
Refin'd, and *Fortune* in her *Courſer Oar*.
The *World* but *Smil'd*, where *Heav'n* had
[Smil'd before.
Great Bleſſings, when by *Greater MERIT*
[ſhar'd,
(Not *Providence*'s Gift, but her Reward,)
Are all *Heav'ns* Faireſt *Blazon*, Nobleſt *Pride*;
Th' *Eternal* DISPENSATION *Juſtify'd*,
Th' *Righ-*

The *Righteous Diſtribution* ought no leſs:
So Great 'tis to *Deſerve*, and then *Poſſeſs*.

Nor in Proud *Courts*, nor *States* alone, that [Great
Dictator! Ev'n in the DESPOTIC *Seat*,
In his own narrower *Domeſtick Sway*,
His *Houſhold* Sweat *Penates* deckt ſo Gay;
To VICE, like *Hannibal* to *Rome*, that Sworn
Eternal *Foe*; and VIRTUE's *Champion* born:
To his own *Filial Nurſery*, ſo Kind
A FATHER, with thoſe *Leading Lights* He [Shin'd:
HONOUR, ſo Lovely by that *Pencil* drawn,
The Early *Phoſpher* to their *Morning Dawn*:
So Fam'd his equally *Paternal Care*,
T' Inſtruct the *Great*, and to Adorn the * *Fair*.
Thus BEAUTY's *Toilet* ſpread ſo all Di- [vine,
Her *Cabinet Gems* ſo furniſht from That Mine;
The *Virgin*, and the *Bridal Coronet*,
Were by Kind HALLIFAX, ſo richly Set;
VIRTUE and INNOCENCE at that full [View,
As ev'n th' Original *Eden Landſcape* drew;
All her whole *Hierarchy* of *Graces*; not
One leaſt Enamell'd *Heavenly Spark* forgot;
Each *Star* in the whole *Feminine Renown*,
From *Caſſiopœia's* CHAIR, to *Ariadne's* [CROWN.

* *His Advice to a* Daughter.

In the Rich *Furniture* of that Fair MIND
Thoſe dazling *Intellectual Graces* ſhin'd,
To draw the *Love* and *Homage* of Mankind;
Nothing cou'd more than his firm FRIEND-
[SHIP *Charm*;
Chearful, as *Bridal*-Songs; as *South*-Suns
[*Warm*,
And *Fixt*, as *Northern*-Stars: When e're He
[deign'd
The Solemn Honour of his *Plighted Hand*,
He ſtood a more than Second *Pylades*;
Unſhaken, as *Immutable* DECREES.

But whilſt theſe vaſt *Perfections* I Recount,
The *Heights* to which thoſe Soaring *Glories*
[mount:
My *Muſe* thus rapt into that *Chearful Sphere*;
Is this her *Wailing Dirge*? her *Funeral Tear*?
For his *Sad* DEATH, to Draw his *Glorious*
LIFE!
Paint *Lights* for *Shades* and *Extaſies* for *Grief*!
Are theſe the *Melancholy Rites* She brings,
Fit *Airs* to Tune the *Mournful Theme* She
[Sings!
Yes, the *True Mourner*'s in th' *Hiſtorian* Play'd:
What's Preſent *Grief*, but Paſt *Delight* Di-
[ſplay'd:
Counting what once was *Ours*, we need no
[more:
To Sum th' *Enjoyment*, does the *Loſs* Deplore.

Beſides, What's all our Sable *Cavalcade*,
To the Great DEAD, our Darkeſt *Funeral Shade*?
T' Illu-

T' Illuſtrious *Virtue*, Grief's an *Eaſie* Debt;
Her Glorious *Amulet* but *Cheaply* Set:
She finds the *Diamond*, and *We* the *Jet*.

When *Learning*, *Wiſdom*, *Eloquence*, Expire,
And the *Great* SOULS, (Sparks of *Celeſtial Fire*)
Back to their *Elemental Source* Retire:
To ſuch *Rich* DUST, in vain we *Pyramids* Rear;
For *Mauſoleums* are but *Pageants* there.
What's a poor Short-liv'd Pile of *Crumbling Earth*,
A *Mould'ring* Tomb, t' *Apollinary Worth*?
Worth, that ſo far from ſuch a *Narrow Bound*
Spreads a *Large Field*! moves th' *Univerſal Round*!
Fills every *Tongue*! Thus, what no *Urn* contains,
The *World's* the *Caſket* to thoſe *Great* REMAINS.

Nor let *Poetick Vanity* Rehearſe
Her *Boaſted Dreams*, Her *Miracles* of *Verſe*:
Think, in ſome poor *Recorded* EPITAPH,
That ſhallow Page of *Braſs*, or *Marble Leaf*;
Or in ſome more *Voluminous Folio* Pile,
A *Davideis*, or *Arthur's* Sweating Toil,
Some Sacred WORTHY's *Deathleſs Fame* t' Inſtal;
Raiſ'd by her *Lyres*, like the Old *Theban Wall*.
No; when *Great* NAMES ne'r Dye, That *Work* alone
Is all a Fair *Creation* of their *Own*. True

True GLORY Shines by her *Own* Lighted [*Beam*:
'Tis not the *Muſes Song*, but *Muſes Theam*:

When in Great HALLIFAX, WIT's [*Pantheon* fell,
And *Death* now huſht that Silenc'd ORACLE;
From Fair *Eliza*'s Hallowed * *Helicon* Walls,
Methinks I hear a Fatal *Summon* calls:
When, lo! the *Delphick* † SEER, that *Re-* [*verend Bard*,
Of Sacred *Literature*'s rich *Fount*, prepar'd
Th' Expiring HALLIFAX, in *Death* to [wait.——
No leſs Attendant on his *Funeral-State*,
Fate to that ever *Honour'd* HEAD cou'd [owe:
LEARNING it ſelf muſt ſhake, at ſuch a *Blow*.
But, tho' with all this *Mine* of *Learning* ſtor'd;
He *Liv'd*, and *Dy'd*, no Niggard of that *Hoard*:
Witneſs his own *long* Pious *Founded* || *Piles*,
Where *Nurtur'd* ARTS, by his *Auſpicious* [Smiles,
Tune their *Young Voices* to the *Muſe*'s Song,
Nerv'd by his HAND to *Books* and *Virtue* [ſtrong.

Thus, as th' Old *Iſrael Patriarch*, to his once
Illuſtrious *Twelve*, HE to his *Hundred* Sons,

* *Weſtminſter-School.* † *Dr.* Busby, *who dy'd the ſame Day.* || *His Free-School Foundation.*

His

His *Fruitful* CHARITY's Adopted *Race*,
(With all his Tendereſt *Diffuſive Grace*,)
Doals, with a true *Paternal Glory* Crown'd,
His *Living* and his *Dying* Bleſſing round.
Yes, from that *Hand*, the *Scatter'd Bread*
[muſt fall;
He Furniſhes thoſe *Numerous Pencils*, all
To Copy from his Great *Original*:
Reſolv'd, if poſſible, Reſolv'd t' *Inſpire*,
To this *Young Nurſery*, his *Cheriſh'd Choir*,
His own *Rich Soul*, their *Tranſmigrated Fire*.

But, why (if 'tis not a too *Bold Offence*,
To dare *Expoſtulate* with *Omnipotence*,)
Why ſhould Prodigious *Worth*, from th' *Orb* it
[warm'd,
Snatch'd from the *Soil* it Cheriſht, *Eyes* it
[charm'd,
From its *Deſerted Charge*, unkindly fly,
Quit th' *Earth* it Bleſt, Impoveriſh *Worlds*, and
[Dye?
No, the Kind *Heavens*, in Mercy, to Rebate
That *Mighty Loſs*, the too keen *Edge* of *Fate*,
Have circled *Virtue* in a *Fence* ſo High,
As ſtands ſo ſafe, it knows not how to Die;
But founds its own Proud *Immortality*.
For, as ſome Lofty *Cedar*, long had ſtood
The *Landmark* of the *Plain*, and *Glory* of the
[*Wood*;
Till the Dread *Voice* of *Fate*, *Heaven*'s Angry
[*Blaſt*,
The *Bolt* of the Deſtroying *Thunder* caſt,

All

All the tall PRIDE lies *Faln*.—Yet ſtill ſome [*Shoot*,
Some tender *Scyen* from the *Sacred* ROOT,
By its *Nutrimental* PARENT *Succours* fed,
Springs, Grows, Spreads, Flouriſhes; till th' [Uprear'd *Head*,
Do's t' all its Great *Original* HEIGHTS [improve,
A Second *Pearch* for the Fair *Bird* of *JOVE*.

So may Great HALLIFAX *Himſelf* Sur- [vive;
Thus *Fall*, and thus his *Deathleſs* Virtues [*Live*:
LIVE in his *Fair* SUCCESSION, ever [Bleſt;
Whilſt *Honour* Builds its own *Rich* PHÆ- [*NIX* Neſt.

FINIS.